

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XIV

JANUARY, 1921

NUMBER 1

IMMANENCE, STOIC AND CHRISTIAN

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As an effective philosophic concept, applicable to all forms of being, Immanence takes its start from Stoicism. It was a growth, rather than a first principle or formula. It did not start as a scientific hypothesis, but rather as an attractive figure or guess, which gradually grew into a theory, and was elaborated into a body of doctrine. The assumption out of which it sprang was that the world was an ordered unity, as Pythagoras had declared — a *Kosmos*. Whence came the Order of the Unity, and how imposed?

Νοῦς διεκόσμησε πάντα — Mind (or A Mind) ordered all things — had been the formula propounded by Anaxagoras; and Socrates at first hearing gave enthusiastic welcome to the idea, but turned from it in disappointment when he found in it no more than a rational analysis and classification of efficient causes, without any attempt to account for their genesis, their method, or their goal. To the Stoics, on the other hand, the term seemed too precise and personal. Νοῦς connoted or implied an external mind directing or at least designing the universe, a deistic assumption to which they could not subscribe. Instinctively, deliberately, or evasively, by no means foreseeing the results and eventual consequences of the choice, they preferred the more oracular dicta of Heraclitus regarding the directive λόγος. In his pregnant and poetic way, the 'dark' Sage of Ephesus had spoken of the ever-existent Word or Reason as the sovereign ordinance by which the Universe pursues its course. Not dogmatically, but in a series of pregnant metaphors, he indicates its modes of action. On the rational side it declares itself as design, intelligence, an ordered purpose running through nature, 'the mind of Zeus,' imparting to it

coherence and unity; at other times it is regarded as constructive energy or force, 'the plastic fire' in which being has its source, or as the authoritative fiat 'the thunderbolt which steers all things'; the changes and processes of nature are the kindling and combustion of the ever-burning fire 'kindled in due measure and extinguished in due measure.' And with this Logos men were in constant, though often unconscious, communion, 'unconscious of what they do when awake, just as oblivious when they sleep.' Often they are at variance with this Logos, though it is none the less their constant companion and the pilot of their destinies. Thus figuratively or even mythologically rather than scientifically, Heraclitus conceived or clothed the Logos with attributes in part material, in part intellectual and spiritual, without any attempt to define the relation or interaction between the two. It could be thought of as the quintessential source of being, the life-energy in all phenomena; or again as the cause and *reason* of their being what they were, the counterpart of reason and consciousness in man; or again as the directive power of the Zeus, the fate, the destiny, which ruled and determined the process due to its instigation and impact. The word itself favored and covered such ambiguities. *Logos* could mean reason acting from within, or thought finding articulate expression in speech, or the authoritative mandate of direction from without, or even more vaguely the principle of relation and proportion, which maintained the balance, the equipoise of being and action between thing and thing.

To this conception, so elastic and undefined in its extent, Zeno gave ready welcome. And already in the Hymn to Zeus, practically the earliest authentic document of Stoicism which has survived, Cleanthes treats it as the vehicle of that cosmic pantheism which the Stoic thought of immanence evolved.

Zeus, King of Kings,

Chaos to thee is order; in thine eyes
The unloved is lovely, who did'st harmonise
Things evil with things good, that there should be
One Word through all things everlastingly.
One Word — whose voice, alas! the wicked spurn.

The quotation is characteristic of the Stoic position. It affirms the unity, but allows the contradictions. In the universe at large it believes in the existence of a higher constraining power or providence, which constitutes a higher harmony, and reconciles seeming evil with higher good. The evil is but apparent, and in reality contributory to the good; it is either non-existent, an illusion in the mind of the observer, or misinterpreted owing to defects of insight. But the most formidable difficulty arises from the nature and the mind of Man, in his estrangement, his conflict with the Order of the Universe. Now the relation of Man to the Kosmos was vital to the Stoic scheme of thought. The Kosmos was in a sense invented and affirmed in his behalf. The Kosmos of the Universe must be in correspondence with the Kosmos of Man; each must be a true Kosmos, possessed of inner unity and of stability, and the two must be reconcilable, must agree together.

This could only be if there existed some link, some interaction, inner correspondence, or identity between the two. By a bold venture or guess, availing themselves of the figurative ambiguities of the Logos idea, the Stoics interpreted the world upon the basis and analogy of man; and the analogy was elaborated with remarkable acumen and completeness. In detail and in mass the Kosmos is the counterpart of the individual man. The Universe is a living whole — ἐν ᾧ ζῶν — a single live organism, a coherent rational order, as shown by the complete interdependence of all its activities and parts. “*Spiritus intus alit.*” Pervading spirit animates the frame; manifesting itself in various phases, it may be called by a variety of names, according to the various functions in which it is engaged — breath, life, mind, will, nature, necessity, law, God, currents of heat, and many more. Each is a partial aspect of one inherent energy. God, if that name be used, is not transcendent, imposing orders from without, but inherent, immanent, acting from within, and therefore circumscribed by the organism in and through which he acts. From Cleanthes onwards, *Pneuma*, a more material category than *Logos*, becomes the favorite term for this life-power, and passes into Latin *Anima Mundi*. Physically it takes effect as breath, expanding and contracting

the lungs, maintaining the respiratory activities of life; physiologically it acts as currents of heat and force, coursing along the arteries and nerves, beating in the heart, producing the co-ordinated reactions of the organs of nutrition, digestion, and the several senses, which make up the life of the organism; emotionally it operates as desire, anger, shame, and all the various impulses, which have their well-known physical concomitants; once more, it manifests itself as reason, conscience, will, directing the operations of the subordinate parts and the self-conscious whole. Spirit is matter; matter is spirit. Matter only exists by virtue of the inherence of spirit.

In this monistic theory of Spirit, Matter, and Being, the Stoics made little serious attempt to grapple with the difficulties created by the vast variety and multiplicity of the phases of phenomena. Dialectically they did not face the unsolved problems of the One and Many, of plurality of being as the expression of a single source and energy of life. Only as difficulties arose were theories devised to countervail or parry them.

The most ingenious was the theory of *Tonos*, tension or strain. The *Pneuma*, it was held, underwent varieties of self-embodiment. Hence arose different states of matter — solid, liquid, gaseous — inorganic or organic — and the varieties of being which phenomena exhibit. The lower grade of tension produces inanimate solids — earth, stone, pulp, the mineral kingdom, characterised by the property of *ἔξις* — ‘hold,’ cohesion, weight. A higher tension produces organic potentialities of vegetable life, evinced in *φύσις* — growth; a yet higher, the animal world, with its more sensitive machinery of tissues, nerves, sensation, etc.; a higher still, consciousness, mind, the attributes of man, which evince the highest products of the world-spirit, rising to those of ‘the plastic fire’ which is the vital force at its highest development.

Projected as a speculation, with little attempt at observational or scientific proof, the hypothesis seemed fantastic, and utterly inadequate to account for the multiplicity of forms and forces, the differentiation of kinds, the fixity of the reactions of the various phases and metamorphoses. But strangely enough it has found a remarkable analogy — Stoics might justly say,

corroboration — in the properties and functions assigned by modern physicists to Ether. That, too, belongs to the material order, yet has strange affinities or interactions with the spiritual. As luminiferous ether it is omnipresent to the furthest confines of the known (or sensible) Universe. Called “void” — but in reality a *plenum* — it is all-pervasive, and seems to lie at the base of all material existence. If all matter is composed of atoms, the atom itself is now conceived as a system of electrons, and the electron itself as an electrical unit, deriving its attributes from Ether. Thus, in terms of Ether it has become possible at last to think the contradictions and the metamorphoses of the Stoic *Pneuma*. On the material side it offers an attractive, if elusive, key to the problem of the cosmic unity. Yet Ether, it is all-important to observe, operates wholly in the domain and along the lines of the external and material order, in absolute obedience to natural and causal law. There is no valid indication that Ether can pass into thought or consciousness, or that it shares any of the attributes and freedoms of Soul. There is nothing in consciousness or thought, little even by way of analogy to suggest, still less to warrant, that thought can thus change into an existence, external to itself, which it is then able to utilize, direct, and control, and which is subject to laws, processes, limitations, ways of behavior, entirely foreign to itself.

It is easy — and in much modern theology, preaching, and poetry, it is common — to fall into the wiles of the *Logos* doctrine and become the victim of its ambiguities. The ancients were beguiled by the term ‘Word’; we more often by such substitutes as ‘expression,’ ‘utterance,’ and the like. Things, it is said, are an ‘utterance’ of the will or thought of God; God, or the Creator spirit, ‘expresses’ himself in such and such forms or aspects of matter. But when thought *expresses itself* in a word (spoken or written), or in a melody (whether through the medium of instruments or written notes), or in a work of art (be it picture or building), it does not mean that thought *brings into existence*, creates, or becomes, the *media* employed, but only that it is able to use materials at its disposal — vocal organs, ear-drums, optical nerves, pen and ink, bricks and

mortar, or whatever other medium is employed — to further and fulfil its own ends, and to convey the fact of its existence and the interpretations of its experience to other minds trained to understanding of the symbols and materials employed. Thought does not create, call into existence, these things, it utilizes and employs them; it *moves matter*, utilizes and co-ordinates it — it does not create. Wide and profound as the distinction is, it may easily escape us under cover of a term.

Again, when *Pneuma* is thought of as admitting all the various metamorphoses which are exhibited in the multiplicity of phenomena, its unitive function evaporates and tends to disappear. The individual man, for instance, comprises *Pneuma* in every variety of phase, and it is hard to say by what right the *Hegemonic Pneuma* controls or unifies the rest, which make up his totality of being. The claim made, psychologically, is independence, not control or subordination of the inferior types. The world-soul is in proportionately worse case; it becomes the directive principle of a pluralist universe, of an infinite number of embodiments of the *Logos*. In what sense can it be held to direct or control? What relation has it to the individual embodiments?

Pantheism identifies the universe with God, and in so doing circumscribes him to the universe, which he is. God is everything, because everything is God. This means that God is just as much decay and disease as conservation and health, as much excretion as nutrition, as much death and extinction as birth and reproduction, as much paralysis as function, as much moral evil as moral good. What are we to say of bad men, the base, the vile, the liar, the murderer? Are these also in God and of God? "Yes," answers Spinoza, "they are." But more and more, as it developed, Stoicism shrank from that rigor of inference. It seemed the *reductio ad absurdum* of the ethical demand which it had adopted its doctrine of immanence to establish. The theory of immanence helps little to account for the unitary order and correspondences of the Kosmos and all its parts.

But to pass to the psychological aspects of the case.

The object of the Stoics was to supply a basis for the *αὐτάρκεια*, the moral independence, of the soul, and to show that such moral independence accorded with the constitution of the world, that it was indeed *κατὰ φύσιν*, 'in accordance with nature,' and part of the cosmic harmony. The world-soul was the analogy of man's. But the world-soul on examination revealed itself as a rational order, a system of processes and laws conforming to a general scheme, which showed no trace of emotion or of passion, of impulse or desires, but was an ordered scheme of providential design. *Logos* was 'the pilot of the universe.' The one element in man's nature — in keeping with the term *Logos* — which conformed to this type, was reason, the rational and moral will; and this the Stoics affirmed to be the seminal, directive, hegemonic faculty in man. They definitely separated it off from the other faculties, and claimed for it a sovereign place. Man is master of his will; ethically that is the centre of the system. The appetites, the sensations, the impulses, the emotions are rigorously subordinated and ruled out. "Efface impression; stay impulse; quench inclination; be master of the directive will." There, in short, was the creed.

But what an arbitrary, untenable line of cleavage this introduces! The vital distinction is drawn not at self-consciousness, but at the exercise of a particular faculty or set of faculties that belong to the soul. If there is one conclusion more than another in which all modern schemes of psychology agree, it is the assertion of the unity of soul. From the same source, whatever that *ἀρχή* may be, proceed sensation, emotion, consciousness, thought, will, and the other activities of the soul, the Ego. Historically we may discuss Plato's tripartite division of the soul, or Paul's distinction between *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, or Stoic classifications of the various soul-faculties; they are useful for analysis, for study of human faculty, and of the nature of 'Soul' itself; but they do not represent an actual cleavage or contain the promise of a differentia showing the true relation of the Ego to the universal life.

At this point Stoicism develops its inferences in a new and — at bottom — unfounded and illogical direction. Having first discerned in the material constitution of the universe an

analogue to the physical organism of man, and having then isolated in man a particular element or activity of soul, which seems most in accordance with the directive genius of the universe, it next proceeds to endow the world-spirit with the companion attributes which belong to human personality. And so we pass to the strange and inconsistent paradox of personal and emotional Pantheism, which became the chief legacy of Stoicism to Christian and to modern thought. In the hands of the later Stoics — of Seneca, of Epictetus, of Marcus Aurelius — the accent of emotion everywhere intrudes. Nature is God's familiar; the Reason of the Universe becomes once more Father of gods and men, the god within the breast, the ever-present deity, the protector of the struggling and oppressed, the inward monitor of all who are to seek, the stay of the despised, the companion of the sorrowful, the comforter of the bereaved. And Stoicism holds out the hand of fellowship to rival philosophies and cults, becomes the revivalist of pagan rites and liturgies, the hierophant and worshipper at mysteries, the patron of the diviner and the thaumaturgist. This is the version of Immanence which appeals to the eclectic, undogmatic, questioning spirit of today. The doctrine lays hold as a poetry of Nature, which imputes to material things the emotions of which we are conscious in our own soul. They express and answer to

A sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
And rolls through all things.

It is superfluous to quote the trite passages from Pope, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, E. Brontë, and the rest. They form the kernel and the charm of current beliefs in Immanence.

Theology has fastened on them, and modern thought upon the Incarnation has done much to confirm belief in immanence. It seems to bridge the gulf between God and man. All creation is but partial, incomplete incarnation, and is for that reason

sacramental. Into humanity in particular God has ever been coming; striving, longing to enfold it in the embrace of love; at last, in Jesus, he completes the confluence of love with the object of desire. But a true doctrine of immanence must rest upon a valid and coherent psychology.

What is *Soul* — the most baffling problem in philosophy. Theologically, the two main doctrines of the origin of soul are the Creationist and the Traducian. The Creationist, adopted by Augustine and the Schoolmen, and by Origen with the characteristic addition of pre-existence, assumes the separate creation of each individual soul. The idea of creation out of nothing baffles thought, and is to our intelligence meaningless — though that does not disprove its possibility. Pre-existence of soul can only be said to postpone the difficulty and shift it a stage further back. But independently of this ultimate difficulty, the objections which beset the Creationist theory are very serious. It gives no account of heredity or of the reproductive machinery of life. Yet moral and spiritual qualities of soul are unmistakably in some sense inherited, transmitted. Does God, by some 'pre-arranged harmony,' create the soul in accord with the physical organ for which he designs it? What fatal arbitrariness and inconsequence attend the idea! Theologically put, Creationism excludes the theory of Original Sin or of hereditary taint, and throws upon God, with all the difficulties of hard Calvinistic predestinarianism, the responsibility of continuously creating imperfect, blighted, vicious, and infertile souls. It may accord well enough with a theory of immanence, but on other grounds seems unsatisfying and inadmissible. Partly for these reasons Reformed theology turned towards the Traducian hypothesis, *viz.*, that soul is transmitted and inherited as part of the physical organism with which it is associated.

The Traducian theory — in biological terms, the protoplasmic — is that of the modern biologist. It affirms the transmission of the soul by way of natural reproduction from parent to offspring. It has behind it the whole cumulative evidence of the reproductive machinery and of the observed facts of hered-

ity, but it fails to give any just account of the self-centred independence of the soul. It leaves no room for immanence of the divine, unless by way of supplementary intrusion or addition.

A far more helpful and attractive speculation is to regard soul, not as an entity, either created or transmitted, but rather as a centre or nucleus of potential capacities, forming itself within a vast and continuous stream of universal life. Soul may be compared with the atom, ultimately resolved into units susceptible of electric charges, positive and negative. This may be best apprehended in the form of illustration. Conceive a universal stream of energy and being. Within this stream a vortex forms, a self-centred nucleus of will-to-live, will-to-bear, will-to-respond. It gathers into its individual swirl elements of which it is itself composed. It has independent existence, and yet it moves within and as a part of the great current in which it is immersed, and is sensitive to the various movements and reactions of all the neighbor vortices with which it is in contact. Its very existence depends upon reaction and response, and yet it unifies all that comes within its private range and circumference. This is the interpenetration of souls, the influence of soul on soul, which (however inexplicable) is a fact of daily and undeniable experience. Thus it takes its place as a self-determined whole, yet deriving all its capabilities from, and subject to, over-mastering restrictions from without. This meets and explains the seeming contradictions of determinism and free-will. Soul lives by response, a self-determined whole, within the universal life, or thought, of God. *Will* is its own motion, *emotion* its relation and its reaction, partly to the illimitable whole, partly to the self-centred vortices among which it moves. The will-to-live and the will-to-love are its guarantees of continued existence. It is a nucleus of power in the sense that it gathers into itself and into its own motion elements or influences from without, and makes them part of its own being. By such assimilative action we win our souls, we enlarge their action and circumference.

So far from conflicting with the demands of heredity and transmission, this confirms and interprets them. Reproduction

involves only the detachment, by fission, of a germ, a tiny cell possessing the capacities (the motions and reactions) of the organism of which it formed a part. The evolutionary life-process has been the machinery for preserving and transmitting the ever-accumulating store of sensitiveness to reactions derived from the immemorial past. Countless numbers of such germs continually detach themselves — the soft roe and the hard — of each several organism. Only by inter-union is new and independent life attained, a combination of allied potentialities. The new self-centred vortex starts with the union of two responsive, complementary germs; that is indispensable for the origination of a fresh independent vortex-motion; that is to say, accompanying the will-to-live there must exist also the will-to-love. Only so does the new life and being realize itself, and at once *create* and *pass on* the ἀρχή of a new life unit. Creationism and Traducianism each find their true interpretation.

Immanence upon this showing is no longer an intrusion of some force from without, an interference with individuality and an invasion of the soul's prerogative, but represents the soul's own sensitiveness and completeness of reaction and response to the primal life-power, the being — or the product — of the omnipresent life-giving and self-moving God. The measure of the soul's activity lies in its capacity and sensitiveness of response; and the pledge and condition of its survival is the everlastingness of the perennial and overflowing life-stream in which it is immersed. All the soul-experiences which the Stoics devised immanence to satisfy are at least as well accounted for by capacity of response to a transcendent being, as by indwelling of a derived and partial and immanent energy similar in kind. In terms of Old Testament thought, "Thou hast *beset me behind and before*, and laid thy hand upon me," may be taken as the typical text. And this is the preponderating note in the New Testament, even in the writers who have most felt the impact of Stoicism. In the speech at Athens (Acts 17, 28), steeped as it is in Stoic coloring, "In Him we live and move and have our being" is the formula adopted, just as in Rom. 11, 36 we read, "Of Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all

things." Ἐν χριστῷ is the typical phrase, denoting the union of the believer with Christ, and the admissible "Christ in me" (Gal. 2, 20; Rom. 8, 10, etc.), connotes a transcendental transformation of the inner life. The definition of Christian belief as compared with pagan, in 1 Cor. 8, 6, runs, "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him." We are in God rather than God in us.

In the external world, where we discern nothing but absolute and undeviating adherence to law, God *may* act by immanence. What creation is, or by what means it takes effect, lies beyond our grasp. Indeed, in what sense or degree the personal self creates, transcends, or indwells its bodily organ we cannot say. Continuous creation may be a mode, a function, or a fiat, of the divine being. And in created things perfection of response is indistinguishable from passive and inert obedience. Thus in the cosmic process God may operate by immanence, though there is nothing to prove and not much that is valid to countenance it. The very distinction between immanence and transcendence eludes our grasp. But when we come to finite centres of self-conscious life, the idea of immanence lands us in insoluble contradictions. It violates the self-determining prerogative of soul. For immanence presupposes an intruded element of divine spirit, somehow coördinated and acting side by side with the individual personality. How are the two related? How do they interact? We are brought face to face in every individual with the tangled difficulties that beset the doctrine of the two natures in the theology of the Incarnation. There the difficulty was turned by assuming perfect reciprocity of wills and mutual interchange (*communicatio idiomatum*), in fact perfection of response. But in the case of human personalities that is not so; there is a balance of forces, and antagonism as well as reciprocity of wills. The position cannot be saved by the assumption which preserves a unity of personality in the incarnate God-man. And if the spiritual consciousness is a sort of tug-of-war between the rival wills, it is hard to think of the divine will as constantly over-ruled and set at nought by the human will, and only fitfully and partially asserting its pre-

dominance. One would expect rather that the divine will would inevitably and by its nature prevail; that it would assert itself, in theological terms, as irresistible grace. But with that assumption, free-will is at an end, as Calvinism consistently taught.

Again — and this goes far deeper than Calvinist interpretations of the relation of the soul to God — assuming there is an element of immanence in the obdurate soul which refuses to hear the voice of the charmer or to yield up its independence, what shall we say? That it detaches itself or somehow emanates from the soul, in which it failed to establish its footing? or, on the other hand, that it continues to share its destinies? that we may postulate an immanence of the Divine even in permanently recalcitrant souls? Ineffectual immanence cuts at the root of divine power and holiness.

Finally, let us apply the argument to the belief in personal survival. For the Stoic, accepting re-absorption into the universal life, there was no difficulty; personality was but a temporary phase of immanent life; but for the believer in immortality no such way of escape is open. The consistent evolutionist is faced by corresponding difficulties about the genesis of immortality. In the process of development there are various points — the apparent chasm between the inorganic and the organic, between the automatic and the self-conscious — where it seems hard to reconstruct a gradual process and avoid a sudden catastrophic leap; but the gaps are being steadily reduced and bid fair at last to close up into a continuum. Few are more perplexing, at first sight more unbridgeable, than the transition from extinction into immortality. If soul is an entity, created imperishable, there seems no solution except in the will or fiat of the Creator; immortality is withheld or conferred or withdrawn *per saltum*, from without. If, on the other hand, soul is a unit of life, which through accumulating heritages from the past at last attained potentialities which fit it for a self-centred motion of its own, initiated by combination with another unit of like kind, then it may well be that soul after soul trembled upon the very verge of success yet failed to attain; that there have been countless relapses from attainment

achieved but forfeited; that many do not even make their start. Immortality is but the realization of potential survival-values. By defiant, self-willed refusal to accept the flow of the main current, or by incessant failure of reaction to the companion nuclei or vortices among which it moves, the title and capacity for independent movement on the axis of the personal and individual self may dwindle and die out. That is to fail to win our souls, to forfeit all survival rights, to lapse from that immortality which our source of being and our environment, if used aright, offered and guaranteed to us; we gain no lasting place in the world-order. But there is neither re-absorption nor diminution nor extinction of the larger life in which we lived and moved and had our being.

THE EPISTOLA APOSTOLORUM

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IN 1895 there appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy an account of *Eine bisher unbekannte altchristliche Schrift in koptischer Sprache*,¹ by Carl Schmidt, at that time a scholar of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute in Egypt. Schmidt was helped in further research on this document by Pierre Lacau, the Egyptologist, but a full publication was delayed in the hope of further knowledge. This has come, slowly but satisfactorily from new discoveries and the friendly coöperation of French, English, and German scholars.

The first step was the discovery in Vienna, by Dr. Bick, the librarian, of a palimpsest, originally from Bobbio, of a Latin version of the same document.² Schmidt then determined to publish the Coptic text, and in 1910 this had already been printed, when the present Provost of Eton, Montague Rhodes James, noticed an article by the Abbé Guerrier in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, entitled, "*Un testament (éthiopien) de Notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus Christ en Galilée.*" He wrote to Schmidt, who in turn corresponded with Guerrier, and it was found that this Ethiopic document, which Dillmann had known but not thought worth publication, was identical with the Coptic apocryph. Schmidt once more delayed his publication until Guerrier was ready, and it was not until 1913 that Guerrier published the text, with a French translation, in the *Patrologia Orientalis* of Graffin and Nau.³

Finally in 1919⁴ Schmidt published in volume xliii of the

¹ Sitzungsbericht der phil.-hist. Classe vom 20 Juni, 1895.

² Wiener Palimpseste, I. Teil. Cod. Palat. Vindobonensis 16, olim Bobbiensis (Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Band clix, 7 Abteil.), and Hauler, Wiener Studien, 1908, Bd. xxx, pp. 308 ff.

³ Vol. ix, part 3. Le testament en Galilée de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ.

⁴ Owing to the excellence of the international mail, it reached America in the following year.

*Texte und Untersuchungen*⁵ a parallel translation of the Epistola from Coptic and Ethiopic, with full discussions of all the questions connected with it, and three remarkable appendices on "Cerinthus and the Alogi," the "Descensus ad Inferos," and the "Celebration of Easter in the Church of Asia Minor." To these appendices reference must be made in a later article. His edition is of first rate importance, worthy of a document comparable with the Didache or the Odes of Solomon for its additions to our knowledge of the second century. It must suffice for the present to give an account of the Epistola itself and its chief problems, but I cannot refrain from quoting the dignified and touching conclusion of Schmidt's preface.

Wenn ich zum Schluss meinem Werke noch ein Geleitwort auf den Weg geben darf, so möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass es, wie das Titelblatt zeigt, ein Dokument der angeregten internationalen Cooperation vor dem Völkerrkriege bildet. Ich durfte mich der Mitarbeit des Aegyptologen Pierre Lacau, des heutigen Generaldirektors der ägyptischen Museen, erfreuen und zu ebenso grossem Danke bin ich und die Wissenschaft dem Abbé Guerrier verpflichtet, der den äthiopischen Text aus der Verborgenheit gezogen und dadurch eine umfassende Untersuchung des lückenhaft erhaltenen koptischen Textes ermöglicht hat. Wahrscheinlich wäre mir diese Publikation entgangen oder wenigstens zu spät in meine Hände gelangt, wenn nicht Herr Montague Rhodes James mich in liebenswürdiger Weise auf einen Artikel von Herrn Guerrier aufmerksam gemacht hätte. So konnte Herr Dr. Wajnberg aus Warschau eine erneute Uebersetzung des äthiopischen Textes vorlegen, und auf der anderen Seite haben die Wiener Gelehrten Bick und Hauler ein lateinisches Palimpsestfragment beige-steuert. Niemals hätte also die vorliegende Publikation ohne jene tatkräftige Unterstützung dieser auswärtigen Gelehrten diejenige Gestalt erhalten, in der ich sie heute der gelehrten Welt vorlegen kann. Die Fäden, welche uns mit der westeuropäischen Wissenschaft verbanden, sind seit fünf Jahren abgerissen, aber ich kann die Hoffnung nicht aufgeben dass dieses Band doch wieder einmal angeknüpft wird. In dieser Aussicht wage ich mein Werk der internationalen Wissenschaft zu überreichen und ihrem Urteile zu unterbreiten."

Guerrier's publication had never attracted much attention; partly because it was unaccompanied by any introduction indicating its importance, but chiefly because its title was misleading and its contents composite. The title "Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" implies some connection

⁵ The title is *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2ten Jahrhunderts*; but in the body of the book Schmidt always speaks of the document as the *Epistola Apostolorum*.

with the *Testamentum Domini* of Rahmani; but the opening chapters dissipate this notion, for they contain merely an apocalypse, important mainly for its delineation of Antichrist. Guerrier seems to have been ignorant of Schmidt's preliminary notice in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*. Probably only the interest of M. R. James in the Antichrist led him to notice the book and read it through, and discover that in the middle its character suddenly changed.

Schmidt has now shown beyond all doubt that the title "Testament of the Lord" was taken from the ordinary book of that name, which was accidentally associated with the other document in the Ethiopic copy. He has also shown — what is self-evident when it is pointed out — that the first eleven chapters of Guerrier's document have nothing in common with the remainder of it, which contains an *Epistola Apostolorum* identical with the Coptic document. The Coptic is an incomplete manuscript of a better text, while the Ethiopic is a complete manuscript of a worse text. Both are based, directly or indirectly, on a lost Greek original from which the Latin palimpsest, unfortunately only a small fragment, was also derived.

The *Epistola Apostolorum* begins by describing how the apostles determined, in order to confute Simon and Cerinthus, to write an account of their preaching concerning Jesus Christ. They therefore proceed to give a short account of their general doctrine, of which the centre is the Incarnation of the Logos, and summarize it as consisting of five points: the belief in the Father, in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, and in the Forgiveness of Sins. Cerinthus and Simon have corrupted this message, apparently by denying the truth of the death of Christ; and the apostles therefore emphasize the facts of the Passion, the Death, and the Resurrection, ending with the appearance of the risen Lord, and passing into an account of the special revelation which he made to them in the days before the Ascension.

This special revelation begins with what may perhaps be called the preliminaries of the Incarnation. It describes the

descent of Jesus through the various heavens, attended by the great Archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, until the fifth heaven, and finally he appeared in the form of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary and so became incarnate. This is so similar to the Ascension of Isaiah that it seems to me probable that there is some literary connection between the two.

There then seems to be a break in the sense; but Schmidt does not notice it, and it is true that if anything is missing from the text it must have been lost very early, as there is no difference between the Ethiopic and the Coptic. The words of Jesus pass without a break from the account of the Incarnation to the institution of the Easter Eucharist, which seems to be regarded as the perpetuation of the Passover to be commemorated until the Second Advent. But the interpretation of this passage is difficult. "Must we still drink the cup of the Passover?" ask the disciples. "Yes," replies the Lord, "until I come again." The mention of the Passover suggests an annual celebration, but the reference to the second coming reminds us of the Eucharist in Corinthians. Does the *Epistola* describe the connection with the Paschal feast of an already instituted eucharistic meal, or the institution of this meal at the time of the Passover as a commemoration of the death of Christ? Schmidt thinks it is the former, and connects it with the Quarto-deciman question; but even if he is right in this connection (and I think that he is), the question might well be argued whether there is not here an indication of an early usage which had an eucharist once a year. The turning point in the problem may prove to be the meaning of the word *agape*, which in the Ethiopic seems to be identical with the commemorative feast, but in the Coptic to be separate from it. Might not Schmidt have profitably given more attention to Batiffol's study of the *Agape*? Perhaps the time will soon be ripe to reopen this question.

The disciples then ask questions about the second advent, and are told that the Lord will return as the rising sun, brighter by seven times than the sun in his glory; he will be borne on the clouds of heaven, and the sign of the cross will go before

him. With him will come the martyrs, and he will judge the living and the dead. This will happen between Passover and Pentecost, a hundred and twenty years later, or, according to the Ethiopic, a hundred and fifty years.

The apostles then raise a question of much interest to the historian of doctrine: Will he who shall come at the Judgment be the Lord Jesus or he who sent him? The answer of Jesus is an affirmation of the identity of himself with his Father in a manner strongly reminiscent of the lamentable heresy of Sabellius, but it contains also an obscure reference to the Ogdoad, if, at least, Schmidt's rendering be correct.⁶ This is an obvious point of connection with some of the systems of thought loosely called Gnostic — a term which has wrought more confusion of thought in our time than the systems so described raised controversy in the days of the Fathers. Schmidt argues here, much as he did formerly in his *Alte Petrusakten*, that a belief in ogdoads and dodecads was not necessarily excluded from orthodox thought in the second century. Heresy in that happy period was found in opinions, not so much on the constitution of the divine sphere of influence in heaven, as on the relation between God and the world. To believe that heaven or even the fulness of divine being was divided into three, seven, eight, or twelve was not important; what was decisive was the question whether creation was due to the good will of a supreme God who called for the coöperation of his creatures, or to the incompetence of an inferior one, to escape from whose inadequacy was salvation and life.

Jesus then gives the new commandment that "they shall love one another and obey one another in order that peace may be among them. Love your enemies and what you do not wish should be done to you, do not so to others." This is to be the substance of the preaching of the apostles; they are to teach it to believers and to preach the kingdom of his Father, and how the Father has given him authority in order to bring together his children.

He next promises the disciples a rest, where there is neither eating nor drinking, lamentation nor trouble, and they will

⁶ The only reason for doubting this is that the manuscript appears to be defective.

be companions not of the earthly creation, but of that of the Father which is incorruptible; as the Christ is ever in his Father, so will they be ever in him. Moreover this eternal life relates also to the flesh, for just as the divine Logos became flesh, so the flesh of humanity will become divine.⁷ It will be raised up at the Resurrection in order that it, as well as the soul, may receive the due recompense for its deeds. At the Judgment the Lord will spare neither rich nor poor, and will treat each according to his deeds, but those who have loved him will be taken into the rest of the Kingdom of Heaven.

There follows a rather difficult passage. According to the Ethiopic Jesus says, "For this cause did I descend and spoke to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, your fathers, the prophets, . . . and gave them my right hand, the baptism of life, and release and forgiveness of all evil." This might conceivably mean that the Logos had been present in Old Testament history, or it might be a reference to the descent into Hades, with an obvious resemblance to the Shepherd of Hermas and to the *Acta Pilati*. The Coptic clearly takes the latter view, as instead of mentioning the patriarchs by name it says, "I descended to the place of Lazarus and preached to the righteous and to the prophets that they might come forth." Schmidt thinks that the Coptic is the original text, and this gives him occasion to devote an excursus to the development of the doctrine of the *descensus ad inferos*, controverting Bousset's view that the origin of the doctrine was an ancient popular myth, to which theological justification was afterwards added.⁸

When the disciples heard these revelations they said: "O Lord, blessed are we, for we see thee and hear thee . . . but he answered and said to them, "Blessed rather are they who have not seen and yet have believed, for they shall be called the children of the Kingdom, and I will be their life in the Kingdom of my Father."

⁷ It is unnecessary to point out how closely this resembles Irenaeus.

⁸ Bousset replied in an article which he had passed for press only a few days before his sudden death on March 15. It is published in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, July 1920, with a note of affectionate farewell from the editor, Erwin Preuschen, who has himself since then passed away. *Requiescant a laboribus suis, opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.*

The apostles are then told to go and preach to the twelve tribes, and to the heathen, and to the whole land of Israel throughout the world. While they are doing this they will meet a man whose name is Saul, which means Paul. The passage is so important that I quote it exactly.

And behold, ye shall meet a man whose name is Saul, which means Paul. He is a Jew, circumcised according to the Law. And he shall hear my voice from heaven with terror and fright and trembling. And his eyes shall be blinded, and by your hand shall the shadow of the cross fall on his eyes. Do to him all that I did to you. Pass it on to the others. And at the same time shall the eyes of that man be opened, and he shall praise the Lord, my Father in Heaven. He shall gain power with the people and preach and teach. And many, when they hear him, shall find joy and be saved. And because of this, men shall be angry and deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and he shall bear witness before earthly kings, and his end shall be that he acknowledge me, instead of having persecuted me. He shall preach and teach and abide with the elect, a chosen vessel, and a wall which nothing overthrows. The least of all shall be for a preacher to the people, perfected through the will of my Father. As ye have also learned through the Scriptures that your fathers, the prophets, spoke concerning me, and in me is the prophecy actually fulfilled. And he said to us, 'Ye shall be guides to them and tell them everything that I have told you and that ye wrote about me — that I am the Word of the Father and that the Father is in me. So shall ye be to that man as ye ought. Teach him and remind him of the things that are spoken of me in the Scriptures and have been fulfilled, and he will hereafter lead the people to salvation.'

And we asked him, "Oh master, is there one and the same hope on earth for us and for them?" He answered and said to us, "Are the fingers of the hand like each other, or the ears of corn in the fields, or do the fruit trees bear the same kind of fruit? Does not each fruit grow after its own kind?" And we said to him, "O Lord, wilt thou speak to us again in parables?" Then said he to us, "Grieve not; verily I say unto you, ye are my brothers, my companions in the Kingdom of Heaven with my Father, for so it hath pleased him. Verily I say unto you, to them also whom ye teach and who therefore believe on me will I send the same hope."

And we asked him again, "When shall we meet that man, and when wilt thou bring him to thy Father and our God and Lord?" He answered and said unto us, "That man shall come out of the land of Cilicia near Damascus in Syria, to root up the churches which it is commanded you to plant. I am he who speaks through you, and he shall come quickly. And he shall become strong in that belief, that the word of the prophet may be fulfilled which says, "Behold, out of Syria will I begin to call together a new Jerusalem, and Sion will I conquer, and it shall be imprisoned, and the place which is childless shall be called the son and daughter of my Father, and my bride," for so hath it pleased him who sent me. But that man will I turn away that he may not accomplish his wicked purpose, and through him my Father's praise shall be perfected. But after I go away and tarry with my Father, I will speak to

him from heaven, and all the things will take place of which I told you before in regard to him."

In chapter 34, the apostles ask what will be the signs of the end of the world, and Jesus replies that he will tell them what will happen to them and to their converts, and also to the converts of Paul. What follows, however, is merely a repetition of the conventional apocalyptic scenery, in which no special historical facts can be distinguished, and in chapter 41 a new question is raised. Jesus tells the apostles to go and preach, and they reply, "O Lord, thou art our Father," to which he appears to rejoin that they are all fathers, servants (or possibly deacons), teachers. The disciples object that Jesus himself had said, "Call no one on earth Father or Teacher," but Jesus explains that as soon as they make converts they really become fathers or teachers. Seeing that the *Epistola* appears to be directed against Cerinthus, it is interesting to notice that according to one tradition, though not the earliest, Cerinthus quoted this verse as an argument against Pauline Christianity.⁹ Schmidt believes that the "Judaist" Cerinthus is a figment; but this is one of the points where the questions which he raises call for further study.

Jesus then summarizes his teaching by a new interpretation of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The five wise are Faith, Love, Joy, Peace and Hope. These are the guides of believers, but the foolish virgins are Understanding, Knowledge, Obedience, Patience, and Pity. These virtues have slumbered among those who have believed on the Lord but not practised his commandments. The interpretation is not wholly logical, but only those who have never interpreted a parable will find both reason and right to throw stones at it on this ground.

⁹ Καὶ ταύτην μαρτυρίαν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πάλιν λέγοντες ὅτι ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. τί οὖν; φησί, περιτεμήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περιτεμήθητι καὶ αὐτός. Χριστὸς κατὰ νόμον, φησὶν, ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴσα ποιήσων. ὅθεν καὶ τινες ἐκ τούτων ὡς ὑπὸ δηλητηρίων ὑφαρπαχθέντες πείθονται ταῖς πιθανολογίαις διὰ τὸ τὸν Χριστὸν περιτετεμῆσθαι. Eriph. xxviii, 5, 1 f. Cf. also Αὐχοῦσι δὲ πάλιν περιτομὴν ἔχοντες . . . καὶ δῆτα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ταύτης βούλονται φέρειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ περὶ Κήρυθον. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὔτοι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων ληρώδη λόγον, ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. περιτεμήθη, φησὶν, ὁ Χριστός, καὶ σὺ περιτεμήθητι. Eriph. xxx. 26, 1 f.

After a little more exhortation, the document ends as follows:

When he had said this and had finished his discourse with us, he said to us again, "Lo, on the third day and in the third hour will he come who sent me, that I may depart with him." And while he thus spoke, there was thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heaven opened and there appeared a cloud which took him up. And there was heard the voice of many angels rejoicing and giving praise and saying, "Gather us together, O Priest, to the light of glory." And as he reached the sky, we heard his voice, "Go in peace."

The translation of the Ethiopic and Coptic with full critical notes take up 130 pages of Schmidt's book; to this he has added another 600 pages of comment. Many of these pages raise controversial points, and naturally difference of opinion will be wide spread, but no one is likely to think that Schmidt has written too much. On the contrary, there are many places where the reader would be glad to have had further comment.

His principal discussion covers the usual introduction to the problems, divided into eleven sections, of which the last deals with the place and time of the *Epistola*; and the reader who has had some experience of German *Wissenschaft* will prefer to read this first, for among its many virtues, German *Wissenschaft* has never quite learned what the French know so well, that the order of presentation usually reverses the order of research. The result is that with almost every book of this kind it is necessary to read it twice if one has followed the order of the writer. The whole is, in point of fact, a closely connected argument which cannot fully be followed until we know what the writer believes that he can prove. In the light of this knowledge everything becomes clear, but it is not revealed until the end of this treatise. It may be submitted that even in dealing with an apocalypse this economy of revelation is undesirable.

The position which Schmidt reaches is that the *Epistola* does not come originally from Egypt but from Asia Minor, and that it belongs to the second century. These two points are not, I think, equally certain. The date is more certain than the locality. The main point which bears on the date is, of course, the statement that the second advent will take place in the year

120 after Christ, which from the context seems to mean 120 years after the Resurrection. This is the date given by the Coptic; the Ethiopic puts 150 instead of 120, which seems to be an attempt to give the date in terms of a chronology beginning from the birth of Christ, but even if the Ethiopic be the correct text, a document, belonging to the year 180 in our reckoning is a sufficiently valuable discovery. In general there can be little doubt but that before 180 is the latest date to which the *Epistola* can be referred, and before 150 seems to me more probable.¹⁰

So far as locality is concerned the argument is less convincing, though it is, I think, possibly correct. The points which stand out as really remarkable are the reference to Cerinthus and the curious list of the apostles.

Schmidt has a long excursus on Cerinthus and the Alogi, in which he controverts Edward Schwartz, who in 1914 had argued that the tradition of Irenaeus linking Cerinthus with Ephesus was quite untrustworthy.^{10a} Schmidt endeavors to refute Schwartz and re-establish the old tradition, incidentally dealing at length with the question of the Alogi. In this he may be right, and it is perhaps more probable that Cerinthus belongs at Ephesus than elsewhere, but the whole question may well be re-opened. Whether, however, he is right in thinking that Cerinthus cannot have been a Judaist is more doubtful, and the whole question is still full of difficulties. Was it impossible for a man to be a Judaizer and a Docetist at the same time? Before this question can be answered we shall be brought back once more to the problem whether Ignatius in his epistles was attacking one party or two.

The connection of Cerinthus with Ephesus and of the *Epistola* with Cerinthus is the main argument which Schmidt brings forward, but he also attaches great weight to the fact that the *Epistola* commands the celebration of the Passover in commemoration of the death of Christ, and connects this with the Quartodecimans of Asia.

¹⁰ Can Papias have been referring to the *Epistola* when he expressed his famous preference for oral tradition to that which was written?

^{10a} *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1914, pp. 210 ff.

All these arguments are weighty so far as they go. They are convincing evidence that Ephesus is a possible place. The main reason why I hesitate to go all the way is the curious list of the apostles. The list is as follows: "We, John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes, and Cephas." There is extant another list which has many of the same characteristics, that is to say it begins with John, and includes Cephas as well as Peter, found in the Apostolic Church Orders, commonly called KO,¹¹ (*Kirchen-Ordnung*), a book which almost certainly belongs to Egypt and the third century. Schmidt thinks that the KO borrowed the list from the Epistola and that this is based on a scrutiny of the Fourth Gospel. He thinks that the variation of order between the two is irrelevant. To this I cannot agree: the difference seems to me to show that the two lists are independent, though belonging to the same tradition, and one different from that of the Synoptic Gospels. Moreover Schmidt takes too little notice of the fact that Clement of Alexandria also regards Cephas as distinct from Peter, though he places him among the Seventy and not among the Twelve. Thus Clement, the Epistola, and the KO agree in believing that there was a Cephas other than Peter. John 1, 43 alone distinctly says that Cephas is a name which was given to Simon and that it means "Peter," and that Simon, Cephas, and Peter are only three names for one person.¹²

Does this really point to Egypt or Ephesus as the home of the Epistola? Obviously, I think, to Egypt. If the writer had been basing his list wholly on the Fourth Gospel would he have disregarded John 1, 43? Moreover, is such disregard probable in Ephesus of all places? Therefore it becomes more important to consider Schmidt's view that Cerinthus had only a local importance. This seems to me very doubtful as the amount of space devoted to him by Epiphanius and the other later writers is not consistent with a merely local reputation. The whole question requires careful investigation. Schmidt

¹¹ The list in KO runs as follows: John, Matthew, Peter, Andrew, Philip, Simon, James, Nathanael, Thomas, Cephas, Bartholomew.

¹² See the Note, "Simon, Cephas, Peter," below, p. 95.

may well be right in thinking that Hippolytus introduced the reference to Egypt in his account of Cerinthus, and that Harvey¹³ was wrong to emend the text of Irenaeus; but is it so certain that the Egyptian tradition of Hippolytus was pure invention? If there be any foundation for Hippolytus' statement, Schmidt's argument would be greatly reduced in importance.

Schmidt thinks that the writer of the *Epistola* was acquainted with the canonical New Testament at least so far as the Four Gospels, the Acts, and the Pauline Epistles are concerned, and he rejects the use of any uncanonical source. In general the smallest resemblance satisfies him that a canonical book is used and the greatest difference is insufficient to persuade him that an uncanonical gospel was before the writer of the *Epistola*. Nevertheless it is indisputable that the writer lived in an uncanonical atmosphere. The majority of his quotations from the Prophets are *agrapha*, and the clearest reference to a "childhood" narrative is found only in apocryphal gospels.¹⁴

No doubt it is true that there has sometimes been a tendency to invent unnecessary "ausserkanonische" sources, but Schmidt seems to fall over backwards in his fear of this tendency. His main point is that the events mentioned are found in the canonical Gospels and Acts, though with considerable variation: why should not the writer of the *Epistola* have himself introduced the variation? The answer is that the *Epistola* is fictitious, but not fraudulent. In its references to history it is not attempting to give new and unheard of versions of facts, but to corroborate true teaching — which really represented the mind of the Apostles — by relating the prophecy by Jesus of facts which the readers would recognize as having really taken place. Therefore the description of history in the *Epistola* is not likely to represent variation due to the writer,

¹³ Irenaeus says *Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia . . . docuit*, but Hippolytus, who is otherwise obviously copying Irenaeus, says *Κήρυθος δὲ τις αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς ἔλεγεν κ. τ. λ.* Harvey therefore proposed to emend *in Asia* to *in Aegypto*, and treats Cerinthus as an Egyptian.

¹⁴ In chapter 4 the *Epistola* obviously refers to the Gospel of Thomas, or one of the cognate gospels, in the course of the discussion between Jesus and a Rabbi as to the meaning of Alpha and Beta.

but rather to be the form of tradition followed by the church in which he lived.

The most obvious instances of this are the possible references to Acts in the *Epistola*. There are two of importance. In chapters 7-8 there is the following account of the release of one of the disciples from prison: "After my home-going to the Father, remember my death. When the Passover comes round, one of you will have been thrown into prison for my name's sake, and will be in sorrow and distress because ye celebrate the Passover while he is in prison and far from you; then will he grieve because he does not celebrate the Passover with you. But I will send my power in the form of the angel Gabriel, and it will open the gates of the prison. He shall go out and come to you, and shall keep the vigil with you and stay with you until the cock crows. But when ye have finished the memorial which takes place in remembrance of me, and the agape, he shall be thrown into prison again as a witness until he shall come out from there and preach what I have commanded you."

Schmidt thinks that this is a reference to the release of Peter from prison in Acts 12. Possibly this may be the ultimate source. But after all, in Acts Peter (who is not mentioned in this section of the *Epistola*) stays out of prison when he is released, and there is no mention of an Agape or Passover in the house to which he went. In the *Epistola* the important thing is that an unnamed apostle is let out of prison by Gabriel in order to eat the Passover with the rest of the Twelve, and is taken back at cock-crow to his cell. It is not quite clearly stated that Gabriel takes him back to prison, but it seems to be implied.

Equally difficult to reconcile with the direct use of the Acts of the Apostles is the account of the conversion of Paul. This has been quoted already. Is it possible that an account so greatly modified could have been put forward as a prophecy of which the account in Acts was to be regarded as the fulfilment, and is it likely that the man who wrote it was acquainted with the Epistle to the Galatians?

The general characteristics of the *Epistola* are admirably

brought out by Schmidt in his paragraphs on the Christology and other doctrinal points of the document. The supreme God remains, as it were, always in the background, and Jesus is the incarnate Logos, the second God of the Apologists, who is the divine centre of the Church, the Lord of the Christians, to whom he offers eternal life in the Kingdom of God. There is a noticeable absence of any importance attached to the death of Jesus, and the only value of the Death and Passion is to prove the true humanity obtained by the Incarnation. This is undoubtedly the Christology and Soteriology of the Apologists, and belongs to the same category as the Fourth Gospel, which it also resembles in anti-Docetic tendency.

There is, however, one point of great importance scarcely touched on by Schmidt: — the bearing of the *Epistola* on the position of Pauline Christianity. His omission to treat this question fully is the more remarkable in view of his selection of Ephesus as the home of the *Epistola*, and the problem can best be stated on the assumption that Schmidt is right on this point; it is only somewhat less striking if he be wrong.

One of the most certain facts in early Christian history is that Paul preached for a long time at Ephesus. Equally certain is the fact that he had many opponents. And a little later on, when we get the beginning of Ephesian tradition, the central figure is not Paul but John. Whether this John was the son of Zebedee or not is entirely unimportant compared with the fact that he, not Paul, is the centre of Ephesian tradition. With him are linked up the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles. The problem is, did this Johannine Christianity grow out of Pauline preaching or was it an independent growth? The general history of early Christianity tends to show that, though Baur exaggerated his application of the Hegelian formula, it is true that in several instances struggle was succeeded by reconciliation, and that much of the existing canonical literature belongs to the period of reconciliation which told the story of the past not as it really was, but as it was felt that it ought to have been. If this were so at Ephesus we should expect to find that after a period of struggle between Pauline and Johannine Christianity terms of peace were unconsciously ar-

ranged and are reflected in the pseudepigraphical literature of the next generation. On this hypothesis the Epistola is easily intelligible: it belongs to a party which is Johannine, not Pauline, but no longer wishes to defeat the Pauline party which it recognizes as its complement. To do this it emphasises the truth of the story, which Paul himself had so indignantly denied, that his commission came from Jerusalem. The Johannine tradition claims to represent the Twelve, but John, and not Peter, is their head. These Christians recognize that Paul had done good work, and accept, as it were, the validity of his converts, but they are not Pauline, and their greatest concession is that the church of the Twelve and that of Paul are united as the fingers on one hand.

It is greatly to be desired that as many students of early Christian literature as possible should study the Epistola. Their results will probably be instructively diverse, but they will agree in gratitude to Schmidt for his admirable presentation of the text and learned discussion of its problems.

CHURCH AND RELIGION IN GERMANY

RICHARD LEMPP *

STUTTGART

THE editors of the Harvard Theological Review have asked me for an article on "the state of religion in Germany as affected by the war, and its outlook in the period of reconstruction upon which — we may hope — the world is now entering." With some hesitation I comply with their request; but I must beg my readers to allow me first a word of very frank introduction.

Americans can have little idea of the terrible sufferings of my country, or of the hopelessness of the future which the peace of Versailles has set before us; nor can they easily imagine the mood of a nation which, after gigantic achievements and the most heroic endurance, has at last been broken in body and spirit by the force of hunger that its enemies saw fit to employ

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His studies and experience have thus peculiarly fitted him to deal with the subject which, at the request of the editors of the Review, he had undertaken in the present article.

as an instrument of war. If, after the slaughter of the innocents, the representatives of Herod had inquired of the good people of Bethlehem concerning the outlook for religion in the period of reconstruction then beginning, they would hardly have elicited a dispassionate reply. And we, who have witnessed the starvation, not of a hundred, but of hundreds of thousands of our children, are naturally in no very scientific frame of mind. Irrespective of the source of the inquiry, we are not just now in a mood for the calm investigation and exposition of our domestic situation. He that is sick almost unto death may indeed seek help and healing, but he is in no condition to compose a treatise on the nature of his malady and the outlook for his recovery. Since, however, I am personally acquainted with the editors of the Review and am convinced that their request originated in the sincerest sympathy, I have decided to attempt the task. Possibly I may be contributing to a genuine understanding of our internal situation; and mutual understanding is, after all, the indispensable prerequisite of any reconstruction.

The reader may recall my article on "Present Religious Conditions in Germany," published in this Review in January 1910. The questions there raised were: Could the German church, which down to the eighteenth century had been the chief promoter and embodiment of culture, endure, in the face of a culture which had become independent of it; or was that independent culture destined to destroy it; and in the latter event, what would be the fate of religion in Germany? The article consisted of two parts, the first giving an account of the actual condition of the German churches; the second discussing the two principal groups whose attitude toward the churches was either indifferent or actually hostile, wage-earners and people of education, or socialism on the one hand, and culture on the other. The present article likewise will be divided into two parts. The first will describe the state of the churches and institutional religion in Germany as the result of war and revolution. The second will concern itself with the temper of those who stand aloof, and their relation to religion and the churches.

I

For the German churches the revolution of November 11, 1918, was of profound significance, for one of the immediate consequences of that revolution was the separation of church and state. Up to that time the German churches were established national churches. This was true of all but the small free churches, the so-called "sects," which had come over from England and America, and constituted only one third of one per cent of the population of Germany. In principle every German was by birth a member of either the Protestant or the Catholic established church of his state, although he had the right to withdraw from such membership if he chose. Each of the twenty-six German states had a Protestant and a Catholic established church. In Prussia, the provinces annexed in 1866 retained their own independent establishments. The states paid a large part of the expenses of the churches, protected their cults, and saw to it that all school-children between six and eighteen years of age were taught the Protestant or Catholic religion. In some states the elementary schools were under the immediate supervision of the pastors and the churches controlled all elementary instruction. In the case of the Protestant churches the connection with the states was especially intimate, since they were governed by consistories appointed by the state, Luther having transferred the office of the bishop to the sovereign. The sovereigns appointed many of the pastors, as well as all professors in the theological faculties. The states, not the churches, controlled the education of the ministry. In time of war the government supplied both Protestant and Catholic chaplains to all divisions. Just as it cared for the soldier's health by means of hospitals and surgeons, and for his bodily needs by means of the commissariat, so it furnished chaplains for his spiritual welfare.

All this was entirely in accord with the character of the German state as it had been developed through the centuries: the state not merely the guardian of law and order and of the free development of the individual, but the promoter of all culture — education, health, science, art, industry, banking, etc. Nor

did it seem proper that the state should leave to individual enterprise the nation's most important interest. On the contrary, many, at least among the Protestants, still clung to the idea of Hegel and his theological disciple Richard Rothe (died 1867) that religious institutions should gradually be absorbed in the state as the representative of all culture, the promoter of the spiritual as well as physical welfare of its citizens.

To the church this intimate connection of church and state was acceptable so long as the rulers of the several states were professing Christians. The Hohenzollerns in particular were devoted to the church, but the other rulers also governed the church with no less solicitude and diligence than they did the state. Many Protestants, moreover, were of the opinion that the separation of church and state would be followed by a breach between conservatives and liberals, with the eventual weakening of the whole church. And they recognized that as a consequence of its relation to the state, the church reached not only those who were Christians at heart, but also, through the religious instruction in the schools and the nominal church-membership of the entire population, the irreligious as well. The missionary task of the church was rendered very much easier.

When the revolution broke out, it was manifest that the age-long connection between church and state was at an end. The chief objection to this connection had always come from the great mass of socialist wage-earners, who denounced the state as the patron of capital and militarism, and extended their antagonism to the state-supported churches. The church was in their eyes merely a means by which the state kept the masses in ignorance and contentment. The socialists, therefore, had always emphatically demanded the separation of church and state. In the Socialist Programme of Erfurt, 1891, they declared their principle: "Religion is a private affair." And when, by the revolution, these same masses took the government into their hands, the separation became inevitable. Now, however, the socialists were no longer alone in their attitude; those who formerly opposed the separation joined them in welcoming it. For the revolutionary states had

ceased to be governed by Christian rulers. They had, in fact, ceased to represent the idealistic Christian German culture of the past. In these states parliamentary majorities were the only sovereigns. And since in Germany friends and enemies of the church are about equally divided, it might come to pass that the majority in parliament, and hence the government for the time being, would be unfriendly to the church, and thus the close connection of church and state prove an actual source of danger to the cause of religion. Of the new states, therefore, no one asked or expected coöperation with the churches, but only strict neutrality towards every religion and every school of thought.

In the first period after the revolution, at any rate, the friends of the church were glad to secure strict neutrality. For it looked as if the new states would not be content merely to withdraw their patronage from the church, but would proceed, as in France, to antagonize it and do their utmost to destroy its influence. In all German states, the ministry of public worship and education, which before the revolution had charge of the churches, now came into the hands of men who belonged to no church; in many states, into the hands of pronounced enemies of the church, especially of radically-minded teachers. In the most important state, Prussia, the "Kultusminister" was the well-known Adolf Hoffmann, a Berlin bookseller who for years had opposed both religion and the churches with malice and contempt, and had directed the movement for popular secession *en masse*. He began by prohibiting prayer in the Prussian schools and proclaiming the abolition of all religious instruction. In other states attempts were made to abolish religious instruction without special legislation; so in Saxony, Gotha, Brunswick, and Hamburg. The union of German teachers made similar demands. Yet most of these people were by no means willing to give up altogether the principle of a positive moral education in the public schools — as in the United States; and it was to be feared that, whereas the old states had consciously cultivated Christian character through their schools and their coöperation with the churches, the new states, by introducing the study of morality and similar sub-

jects into the schools, would foster a positively irreligious training, partly upon an idealistic, but to a great extent also upon a materialistic basis.

In this situation, many people in Germany were surprised to see the energy and strength exhibited by the churches. That the Catholic church would enter the contest and prevent any injustice through the instrumentality of its powerful organization, the Centre party, was apparent to every judicious person. The radical politicians, with all their theoretical utopias, showed themselves lamentably ignorant of history when they failed to foresee that outcome. The Catholics west of the Rhine, in territory under the occupation of the Entente, actually threatened to secede from the Prussian Republic if the irreligious radicals continued to dominate its government. The Protestant churches likewise, though suddenly bereft of their princely leaders, disproved in the most striking manner the old assertion of the radicals, that without the protection of the states and their rulers the churches would forthwith perish. Hundreds of thousands rose and protested against violence being done to the churches. In northern Germany alone seven million Protestants signed a protest against the abolition of religious instruction in the schools. Free Protestant organizations were speedily formed throughout the country — not without immense difficulty, since the oppressive conditions of the armistice had crippled all railway traffic and even the postal service. The various political parties were interrogated as to their attitude on the subject of the church and religious instruction. In the elections of January, 1919, the radical parties lost many votes, especially among women voters, because they were suspected of designs unfriendly to the church. In the empire as a whole, as well as in Prussia and most of the other individual states, the first parliaments elected to frame a constitution had no socialistic majority. The national as well as the state governments were forced to admit men of the democratic and of the clerical (Centre) party as secretaries of state; and a legal separation of church and state distinctly hostile to the church, as in France, was effectually prevented.

The American system of separation, which makes the churches mere private associations, and which the Moderate Socialists desired to bring into effect, in accordance with their principle, "Religion is a private affair," was rejected by Catholics as well as Protestants, and therefore by the non-socialist parties. Few supporters of the church could bring themselves to accept a system which would have put the churches on a level with the sects. Rather it was universally demanded that the church, although now independent of the state, remain "Volkskirche," a national church which in principle includes all the people, although withdrawal from it should continue optional with the individual; that the churches should not become private associations, but should be public corporations¹ independent of the state; that the Protestant and Catholic religions be taught in the public schools by ministers and teachers; and that the churches should meet their financial requirements by levying income-taxes. It was agreed that direct financial support by the states be discontinued; but, since the states had in former times confiscated lands and funds belonging to the churches, in most of the states a fixed annuity was agreed upon as compensation for such property, or else an equitable adjustment, impossible at the moment on account of the fluctuating value of money, was promised. As in the past, so in the future, the individual states will eventually regulate their own relations to the churches; but the National Constitution, in Articles 135-150, laid down the general principles which are to govern such regulations. The following are the most important provisions:

ART. 136. Civil and political rights and duties shall be in no way affected by the exercise of the privilege of religious freedom.

No person shall be required to disclose his religious opinions.

ART. 137. There shall be no state church.

Freedom of association in religious societies shall be maintained. Confederation of religious societies within the Empire shall not be subject to limitation.

Within the bounds of the common law, every religious society shall regulate and administer its own affairs as it may see fit. It shall appoint its own officials, without the participation of the state or the municipality.

¹ "Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts."

Religious societies may acquire legal status by complying with the general provisions of the civil law.

Those religious societies which have heretofore been recognized by law as public corporations, shall continue to enjoy that privilege. Other religious societies shall, on their application, be granted the same rights, provided their organization and membership give assurance of their permanence.

Religious societies which are recognized as public corporations shall have power to levy taxes, on the basis of the civil tax-lists, in such amounts as the state law may determine.

ART. 138. The state legislatures shall provide for the commutation of all existing state support of religious societies, whether it be based on statute, contract, or other legal title. The principles governing such commutation shall be determined by the national government.

ART. 144. All schools shall be subject to the supervision of the state.

ART. 146. Admission to any public school shall be determined by the child's ability and aptitude, not by the economic and social position or the religious affiliation of its parents.

Nevertheless, upon the application of parents or guardians, elementary schools of a particular faith or way of thinking may be established in individual communities, provided such establishment be not prejudicial to the well-ordered conduct of the schools, and with due regard also to the provisions of the first section of this article. The utmost possible consideration shall be given to the wishes of parents or guardians.

ART. 147. Private elementary schools shall be permitted only in case a minority of parents or guardians, whose wishes must be considered (in accordance with Art. 146, sect. 2), have not been provided by the community with a public elementary school of their own faith or way of thinking.

ART. 149. Religious instruction shall be part of the regular course in all schools except such as are professedly non-religious or secular. Such instruction, while subject to the supervision of the state, shall be in conformity with the essential tenets of the religious society concerned.

The offering of religious instruction and the conduct of religious exercises shall be optional with the individual teacher. Attendance on such instruction shall be at the option of the person controlling the child's religious education.

The theological faculties of the universities shall be maintained.

Every one will recognize the inherent difficulties in the above provisions, especially those relating to the schools, which were necessarily the result of compromise between the totally opposed ideas of socialists and clericals. Religious instruction a "regular" branch — but "optional" for both teacher and pupil. "According to the tenets of the religious societies" — but "under the supervision of the state." Schools not separated according to creed — but, on the motion of a certain number of parents, Protestant or Catholic schools must be established.

In view of the fatal cleavage in German culture² there was but one logical alternative: either to make the schools mere organs of instruction, rather than of an education influencing both mind and character; or else, since that policy is generally rejected by German teachers, to give up the idea of a uniform system of public education, and supply separate schools for Protestants, Catholics, and unbelievers. Naturally the teachers are far from satisfied with this result of a revolution which many of them greeted as the opening of an era of great paedagogical reforms. But they themselves are partly to blame for the disappointing outcome, since, by agitating at first for schools without religious instruction, and then for religious instruction independent of the churches, they caused religious people to distrust the spirit of the new state and the training to be furnished by its schools.

On the whole the churches may be well satisfied with the constitution. In some states, to be sure, where the radical parties are in the majority, the constitution will be interpreted in a manner as unfriendly to the churches as possible. But if the general condition of the country remains at all orderly, and Bolshevism does not get the upper hand, all the German governments will proceed very cautiously with the separation of church and state, and will avoid every appearance of injustice to the churches. In the past two years they have learned that nothing serves to strengthen counter-revolution so much as injustice of that sort. Moreover, the elections of the summer of 1920 have returned a majority friendly to the church in the national as well as in many state parliaments. In view, however, of the fluctuating value of money, the immense debt of the nation — the whole desperate situation, in which there seems no prospect of escape from starvation and economic ruin — the definite solution of these problems, especially those relating to financial support and school reform, will probably be delayed for a considerable time.

Americans may think it strange that, since the German nation undertakes the separation of church and state at all, it should content itself with half-way measures. Yet there can

² See my former article, page 104.

be no question that that is in fact what German conditions demand. Here, where we have, not many denominations, but only two great churches, which have been connected with the several states for centuries, and have rendered them immeasurable moral and spiritual service; where the government has always promoted and regulated all the agencies of culture; where private initiative is less developed than is reliance on the government — here complete separation of church and state, with the churches transformed into mere private associations, would be a revolutionary step, equally detrimental to church and state. I may add, in this connection, that if our enemies should adopt a more reasonable attitude, and moderate their oppressive terms so that we may live, the churches in their new relation to the states may still be of invaluable service to the nation; whereas, if the present unreasonable attitude persists, chaos will certainly result, in which, as in Russia, the churches also will be engulfed. In that event, the moral as well as the material ruin of Germany will be sealed.

As the German churches proved stronger externally than either enemies or friends had believed, so also internally. During the war the churches had exposed themselves to much criticism and condemnation. Many who were tired of war and the suffering it entailed blamed the churches for encouraging the people to persevere to the point of victory. Only a few of the clergy sided with the pacifists. Most of them, taking into account the state of mind of our enemies, saw no chance of arriving at a mutual understanding. But many people were finally convinced of the soundness of that judgment only by the terms of the armistice and the peace of Versailles. The result was great dissatisfaction with the churches, which, instead of promoting peace, fanned the flames of war and blessed its weapons. On the other hand, to thousands the church became their truest friend and comforter in the great distress. At the outbreak of the war, the masses flocked to the churches as never before. It is true that the great hopes which were entertained of a revival of religion because of the war quickly vanished; the longer the war lasted, the more the life of the church tended to return to normal. Indeed, war showed its

usual effects in the impairment of morality and good custom. Nevertheless, the church reared itself a monument in thousands of hearts by its great work of help and comfort for the wounded, by its material and spiritual assistance of the lonely and the suffering, by its letters, bibles, and religious tracts sent to soldiers and prisoners of war. And when the sad end of the war was followed by the revolution, those who saw in it, not the dawn of a new time, but the ruin of all they had cherished, turned again to the churches in great numbers, the middle-classes in particular, who had always been very friendly. Spiritually, then, as well as externally, the churches remain a living power. Only the peasants, formerly their most loyal adherents, have in part become disaffected. For them the war involved a great spiritual crisis. On the one hand, they have become rich as never before, and mammonism has, in the case of some, destroyed their interest in spiritual things; on the other, in the great changes wrought by the war, many good old customs have been abandoned, and the mingling of peasant soldiers with men of other vocations has had unfortunate results. Then too, the state regulation of business has embittered the peasants and set them against all agencies of public order. Hence in many localities, and especially among those who took part in the war, the church and religion have suffered serious losses. But in general the peasants have remained loyal to the churches.

One element in the situation is especially gratifying. Most people were of the opinion that a split between conservatives and liberals within the Protestant church was inevitable when once the state ceased to hold them together. This opinion has proved mistaken. To be sure, some of the conservatives, when the new church was being organized, did insist that a rigid creed was the most important requisite; that the state and the consistories appointed by it had wrongfully tolerated "unbelievers" (i.e. adherents of modern theology) as ministers; and that the situation must be cleared. That view, however, was opposed not only by the liberals, but also by many conservatives, as well as some pietists. Professors Schmitz and Heim at Münster, and another leader of the pietists, Michaelis, main-

tained that so long as the orthodox were allowed freedom to work, they ought not to leave or divide the church, which as a united "Volkskirche" offers unrivalled opportunities for spreading the gospel among the masses. Up to the present, therefore, the unity of the old church has been preserved in all the states, and the great evil which most people apprehended in the event of the separation of church and state has been avoided. Special credit is due the liberals, who, in this time of distress as already during the war, refrained from every form of propaganda in behalf of their own views, worked solely for the "Volkskirche," and occupied the front rank in the fight against irreligion and the enemies of Christianity.

A very difficult task was the adoption of new constitutions for the churches. By the abdication of the sovereigns, the state churches had at one stroke been deprived of their heads, and the church authorities (consistories) were without legal standing. Nor did the general synods, which supplemented the consistories in the work of church-government, seem sufficiently representative of the membership of the church, since they had not been elected directly by the members, but the district synods had sent delegates to the provincial synods, and these in turn had sent their delegates to the general synods. Now that the state gave a vote to every man and woman of twenty, and sovereign national assemblies were engaged in drafting state constitutions on the basis of such universal suffrage, the existing synods seemed hardly qualified to determine the new constitution of the churches. In southern Germany, in Württemberg and Baden, the church authorities quickly hit upon the proper course. The existing synods ordered elections for constituent synods on the basis of universal direct suffrage; and those constituent synods in turn framed the constitutions of the churches. By these the entire legislative power was left in the hands of the newly-elected synods, while the administrative power was intrusted to church-presidents chosen by the synods and consistories nominated by the church-presidents. In Prussia, however, serious difficulties arose. The old general synod flatly refused to summon a constituent synod to be elected by universal suffrage. It cannot be denied that in a

"Volkskirche," of which even the enemies of religion are nominal members, universal suffrage is of doubtful value; if the socialist masses exercised their right to vote, the church in some states might come entirely into their hands, that is, into the hands of materialists and unbelievers. But while for this reason the synods of the northern states, notably that of Prussia, refused to yield to the democratic tendencies of the time, the new Prussian government, which, so long as the separation was not consummated, continued to hold supreme power in the church, insisted that the general synod grant universal suffrage for the election of a constituent synod. This conflict, which created much excitement in Prussia, has thus far prevented the assembling of a constituent synod in the leading German state, although the government and the synod have recently agreed upon a compromise.

On the whole, in Prussia as in the other states, the constitution of the church will hereafter be much more democratic. In all the states, the supreme power will be lodged in synods, which in most of the states (presumably in Prussia also) will consist of one-third ministers and two-thirds laymen. Women will have the vote in all Protestant churches. The influence of the individual parish in the appointment of its minister will be much increased. Indeed, if a minority of the members of a parish are dissatisfied with the minister's theology, they will under certain conditions be permitted to hold services of their own within the parish. But on the whole, the congregational element in German churches will be small even in the future; the church-presidents, generally elected for life, and the consistories nominated by them, will guard the churches against the vacillations caused by changing majorities.

Just as the individual state governments have, as the result of the revolution, lost some of their importance in comparison with the national government, so the prevailing tendency toward centralization has brought about the convocation of the first German "Kirchentag" (Church Congress). In the past, for the conduct of the common affairs of the churches, such as the representation of Protestantism over against Catholicism, the care of Germans abroad, etc., there existed only a

committee composed of delegates from the various consistories. Now, after thorough preparation, a Church Congress representing all German Protestants met for the first time in September 1919 at Dresden. Consistories, synods, theological parties, missionary societies, and Christian associations, sent their delegates. This assembly represented and disclosed great difference of opinion, theological, political, and social. Nevertheless, at a time when the new states and the spirit of the age tended to ignore both church and religion, it furnished a remarkable demonstration of strength and solidarity, and received a good deal of public notice. The "Kirchentag" is to be a regular institution, meeting if possible every year, not with the purpose of creating a "Reichskirche," or uniform national church, but merely to constitute a league of the various Protestant German churches, which for the rest will remain independent of each other, especially in matters of creed and doctrine. The common interests of German Protestantism will be promoted and defended, whether against the state, Catholicism, or unbelievers, through this "Kirchentag." Its first session was closed with the adoption of several very important declarations: an address to the Protestants of Germany regarding the humiliating impeachment of the Emperor and the detention of our prisoners of war; another to the Protestants in the lost provinces of Alsace, Poland, West Prussia, and Danzig; and a statement regarding the German foreign missions, which have been ruthlessly destroyed by our enemies.

How the theological differences will develop no one can foresee. Under the new democratic system, which through its recurring elections exposes theological differences to the discussion of laymen as never before, dissensions will certainly increase. The settlement of such controversies by governmental consistories has ceased. It is not certain that division can be permanently prevented. Possibly the orthodox party will secede in churches where the elections result in favor of the liberals. Thus far the elections have resulted to a surprising extent in favor of the conservatives, many of the liberals and all the socialists having kept away from the polls. Meanwhile, their common enemies, Rome, unbelief, and immorality,

strengthened by war and revolution, will continue to present great common tasks and impel the various parties to keep together. The provision of special services for the benefit of a dissenting minority within the parish is an attempt to satisfy scruples of conscience and thus prevent secession.

Like all other sciences in Germany, theology faces hard times. Our impoverished country cannot afford the ordinary instruments of science. Already the printing of scientific books and papers has become well-nigh impossible, and so has the purchase of scientific books by students and ministers. Assuredly not Germany only, but the rest of the world as well, will be seriously injured by this starving of German scholarship.

A strange element in the new relation of church and state is the fact that the theological faculties remain institutions of the state, the states, not the churches, appointing their professors. But this should not be matter of regret; the selection of the ablest scholars and the objectivity of scientific research is better guaranteed by the state than by the majorities of synods. On the other hand, the churches will be able to supplement the education furnished at the universities by maintaining, as some of them have in the past, seminaries of their own, to which candidates for the ministry may repair for training in practical work after leaving the university.

More lamentable even than the state of theology is that of the benevolent Christian organizations, particularly the numerous "innere Mission" societies, which are devoted to the care of the sick and the infirm, work among prisoners and outcasts, the fight against alcoholism and immorality, and to evangelical missions. All these organizations are now confronted with such great deficits that their maintenance is extremely problematical. One of the saddest effects of our defeat is the ruin of our works of charity.

Internally, the character of the German churches seems about to change in one respect, as a necessary consequence of the separation of church and state. In the article of 1910 I pointed out that the German churches, though differing from each other in many points, are all of a decidedly Lutheran type, in the sense that they emphasize the piety of the heart which is gen-

erated by the "Word," and give less attention to institutional religion or the element of religious fellowship. I said then that this was well enough so long as state, education, and public opinion in Germany were essentially Christian, but that the growing neglect of the institutional church was endangering the cause of religion. Now that the state and public opinion have adopted a distinctly neutral attitude towards religion, the judgment I expressed seems truer than ever, and indeed its truth is generally recognized. "The church of the past was a church of sacrament, the church of the present is a church of the word, *the church of the future must be a church of fellowship*," said a prominent minister at the evangelical "Gemeindetag" at Leipzig in May 1920. The movement for building up a well-organized, rich, and vigorous parish life, with greater activity on the part of the laity, has been quickened. New organizations have come into being, such as the "Volkskirchenbünde" and "volkskirchliche Laienbünde." These associations were first called into existence by the situation in which the churches found themselves after the revolution, and the urgent need of demonstrations backed by numerous signatures; but they soon became centres of parish work and lay activity. The future of the Protestant church in Germany will depend very largely upon its success in putting an end to the inveterate passivity of the laity, and to the neglect of religious institutions as nurseries of Christian fellowship; and in uniting the real Christians within the great "Volkskirche" into small but active circles, which shall maintain a healthy parish life and effectively champion the cause of the churches before the general public.

In concluding this chapter on the position of the churches in Germany after the war, we may point out that, contrary to the expectation of the utopians who brought about the revolution, the Catholic church has been very greatly strengthened. By the separation of church and state, that church lost nothing but supervision and restrictions, while retaining its leaders. On the other hand, it gained unlimited freedom for monasteries, religious orders, and theological seminaries, the election of bishops, and a papal nuncio at Berlin. In the national, as well

as in many state governments, the Catholic (Centre) party is of decisive importance. The Imperial chancellor, Fehrenbach, belongs to that party. For the present, by reason of the prevailing distress and their common struggle against the atheistic policy of the revolutionists, peace between Protestants and Catholics has been fairly well preserved; but in the future, the increased power of Rome in Germany will provoke serious contests between the two bodies; and it is to be feared that, although in the majority, the disunited Protestants will prove the weaker party.

II

We have found the state of the church after the war, though by no means free from danger, yet not entirely unsatisfactory. The church has proved far too strong to be swept away by the forces of culture, in spite of the fact that the latter have come to be practically independent. The outlook becomes more serious when we turn to the second part of our survey: the temper of the outsiders and their relation to religion and the churches. This subject must be considered under two aspects: *First*, the relations of the Protestant church and the German working class, and *Second*, the relations of the Protestant church and German culture. Both these problems, it will be recalled, proved complicated in our article of 1910. The first appeared quite insoluble for the immediate future; the second seemed less difficult, since German culture, at least theoretically, was beginning to turn from naturalism to idealism, and hence was adopting a more sympathetic attitude, not indeed to the church, but at least to religion. In both respects the situation since the war and the revolution has not materially changed, although both questions have grown more acute for both sides — the working class and the educated class on the one side, and the church on the other.

We may begin with the working class, the vast majority of whom are organized into socialist parties. As a result of the war and the revolution, our prediction of 1910 has been fulfilled: the moderate and radical socialists have separated. The Moderate Socialists have been in control of the govern-

ment of Germany for the past eighteen months, and have therefore been compelled to do a certain amount of constructive work. In the course of their endeavours, the best of them have come to recognize that socialism made a serious mistake in teaching the masses to antagonize all existing institutions, and to base their hope of future welfare upon economic revolution alone, to the neglect of moral agencies. Some of their leaders have confessed as much. Others, like the Prussian Kultusminister, Haenisch, have explicitly acknowledged the moral achievements of the church, especially in the education of the masses. Still others, such as Schulz, Meerfeld, and Keil, have gone so far as to urge socialists who have not left the church to take an active part in its affairs, now that it is no longer in the service of a capitalistic and militaristic state.

Nevertheless, it can scarcely be affirmed, even of the moderate socialists, that they have actually drawn nearer to the church. It is true that, being compelled to do constructive work instead of contenting themselves with mere opposition, the moderate socialists have begun to adopt a more objective attitude also towards the church. Their press is beginning to show some regard for their own doctrine that religion is a private affair, and to refrain from deliberate attacks on religion and the churches. But as yet there is nothing like a positive inclination of moderate socialists toward the church or even toward religion. For one thing, the antipacifist position of the churches during the war had the effect of increasing the antagonism of many of them; while the problem of divine government in connection with the war furnished too tempting material for their scoffing. Moreover, since the revolution, workingmen are so taken up with urgent economic, trade-unionist, and political questions, that few of them have time or interest for religious subjects and the revision of their ideas concerning the church. Even the fact that some ministers have gone over to the socialist party has failed to bring more than a very few socialist workmen into touch with the life and work of the church.

More sinister is the attitude of the Independent Socialists ("Unabhängige Sozialisten," "Kommunisten"). In ever increasing numbers the majority of wage-earners not only re-

fused to follow their leaders into constructive work, but, persisting in the old attitude of hatred and opposition, abandoned the socialist party and went over to the Bolsheviks, in wrath and disappointment at the failure of the revolution to bring about the promised paradise. Among such the animosity toward the churches, now independent of the state, has remained as strong as that formerly directed against the established churches. The press of these radical socialists preaches Marxian materialism, according to which all churches are merely a means to stultify the masses and support capitalism. The surprising energy exhibited by the churches in the crisis led to a new movement to bring about secession from the church *en masse*. But in spite of this animosity, thus far only a small fraction of the workmen have left the church, about one half of one per cent of the population. Most wage-earners paid no church taxes anyhow; and their religious habits, together with the influence of their wives and children, have kept them from withdrawing.

Between 1912 and 1914, when for the first time such a movement for a general secession from the church was started by radical socialists like Hoffmann and Liebknecht, about 100,000 working-men left the churches. This movement subsided, however, when the war broke out. But after the great disappointments of 1918, when even the revolution failed to break the influence of the church, and the radical attitude of the revolutionists toward the churches actually turned many, especially women, into anti-revolutionists, the agitation for secession was resumed. Organizations such as the "Freethinkers," the "Central Union of Proletarian Freethinkers," the "Committee of the Unbelievers" are eagerly at work at the present time. And more favorable to their cause than all their agitation is the fact that many wage-earners, on account of their increased wages, must now pay church taxes. Consequently, since the close of the war another 100,000 (including women and children) have left the churches. When one considers, however, that at the last election there were twelve million socialist votes, those numbers are seen to be quite insignificant. Moreover, the withdrawal of children from the religious instruction

furnished in the public schools, and still more the establishment of non-religious schools (in accordance with articles 146 and 149 of the national constitution) proceed with surprising slowness, in spite of the continued agitation, especially on the part of socialist teachers. By far the greater number of children, even in the predominantly proletarian schools of the large cities, still attend the classes in religion. Nevertheless, the movement for secession from the church seems bound to increase. From the point of view of religion, it may not be wholly undesirable that people who reject religion in fact should not continue to profess it in name. But the realization of the ideal of a "Volkskirche" is seriously endangered by that movement.

More serious than the defections from the church is the fact that the majority of workingmen, even after the disappointments of the revolution, still fail to perceive that mere economic changes, without the birth of a new spirit, cannot create a paradise. The war, in Germany as in other countries, has thrown the moral standards of many into confusion; and the revolution has still further undermined respect for authority and made men critical of inherited institutions. To be sure, many radical leaders recognize that we need a new spirit if we are to emerge from our misery into better things. There are many to whom their Bolshevism is itself a new religion for which they would gladly give their lives, and who struggle with pure idealism for the anticipated salvation of the future. We must admit, also, that the churches, whose adherents belong mostly to the conservative political parties from which working men keep aloof, often cling too closely to the conservative side of political and economic questions, and show too little appreciation of the material and moral condition of the working class. But even where clergymen have turned to the radical parties — and some have gone very far, witness the so called "religiös-social" movement, with its organ, "Das neue Werk," which has adopted the radical socialism and pacifism of Swiss theologians³ — the effect in winning socialists for church and

³ One of them, Dr. Hartmann of Solingen, openly addressed an ultimatum to the church, threatening to lead a secession *en masse* himself if it did not reform in the direction of democratic socialism and radical pacifism.

religion has been negligible. Long-continued socialist agitation has rendered the heart of the working class utterly irresponsive to the influence of the church and the Christian religion. The situation is very serious — no small part of the seriousness of Germany's future. Either we shall overcome the fanatical mutual distrust of the classes in Germany, and in particular free the working class from its materialistic delusion and hostility to religion, which, I am convinced, is possible only through an awakening of the spirit of the love of Jesus in both upper and lower classes; or else Germany, like Russia, will perish together with its churches and its working class. Whether the "Volkskirche" in its traditional form will ever be able to win back the workingmen in Germany must be regarded as doubtful. Rather we may hope that in the distress which all of us, and not least our working-men, are now facing, a prophet may rise from the working class itself, to preach the gospel of Christ in a new tongue and devise new forms of fellowship for a re-awakened Christian faith.

The outlook is less discouraging, as was pointed out ten years ago, when we come to the second question, the relations of the church and culture, or the church and the educated classes. German culture, we saw, was already turning from the realistic-naturalistic thought of the second half of the nineteenth century to a new idealism. Certainly, the movement in that direction has made progress during the past ten years. The war and the revolution have contributed to the same result. Many are ready to admit that the old realistic culture went bankrupt in the war; that the much esteemed technical sciences celebrated their greatest triumph in the invention of the most terrible instruments of slaughter; that imperialistic politics led the nation to disaster; and that our splendid economic development proved one of the main causes of the war. The idea that only a new spirit of devotion, sacrifice, and sincerity can save us from the Russian chaos, that our external culture must give way to a new inwardness, is widely prevalent among educated men and women. Moreover, the dread of Bolshevism has caused many to look to the church as the defender of order and authority. The shallow mockery of

all religion and contempt of the church, which for a long time were common among the educated classes, have to a great extent disappeared. In the distress wrought by the war, and in the anxiety of the revolution, many educated people have found their way back to the churches. The movement for secession, inaugurated by professors of natural science like Hæckel and Ostwald, makes very little progress among the educated. Its adherents are mainly teachers, among whom the old naturalistic radicalism, with its accompanying hostility to the church, continues to flourish. Not only the conservatives, but the liberal and democratic parties as well, proved friendly to the church on the issue of its separation from the state, and labored together for the maintenance of religious instruction in the schools.

But over against these gratifying facts we must set others not so encouraging. Simultaneously with the growth of theoretical idealism, the war, the universal distress, and state regulation of business, have resulted in a considerable degree of practical materialism, sensuality, and covetousness even among the educated. The struggle for existence, political and economic, has in many cases submerged the higher interests. And where this has not happened, and where educated people, especially among the young, are looking for a new idealism, they are for the most part still very far from the religion of the Christian church. Some, unmindful of history, turn to individualistic mysticism. Others are enticed by Christian Science and similar movements. In particular, the "spiritual science" (*Geisteswissenschaft*), or theosophy, of Dr. Rudolf Steiner has made considerable headway among the educated. Precisely this shows the remarkable change which has come about within the last twenty years. The same educated men who then held up natural science as the final solution of the riddles of the universe, now ally themselves with the mystical community of Rudolf Steiner, believe in a universe full of ghosts and angels, study their own "etherial body" and "astral body," and speculate on the question who they were in a former stage of existence. Even some Protestant theologians have been won over to these beliefs. Steiner himself insists that his

aim is not to combat, but to deepen and intensify Christian faith; that he is engaged in a common struggle with the churches against the great enemy of all genuine civilization, materialism. As an ally in this struggle, the church may perhaps welcome him; but it is to be feared that, with the inevitable disappointments of this "spiritual science," people will be drawn away from genuine religion and landed in abstruse and empty speculation.

So the problem of the "Protestant Church and German Culture," is no nearer solution today than it was ten years ago. In spite of the fact that the last few years have seemed to force them together, they still remain apart. No doubt the church has not been without fault. It has often been too inflexible, too rigid, too little mindful of the realities, too much engrossed with the poor in spirit. On the other hand, not a few people of education eagerly await the rise of some new prophet, some creative genius, who, amid the present confusion of thought and the crumbling of foundations, shall point a new way and proclaim the old gospel in new language. May the bitter and fearful period which by the will of God we face, and which threatens to surpass in incalculable misery all that has been experienced in the past, raise up for us such a man! Assuredly he would prove a blessing, not only to Germany, but likewise to the other nations, which are beset with the same confusion and cherish the same longing for new ideas and a new spiritual leader.

THE TOMBS OF PETER AND PAUL
AD CATACUMBAS

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RECENT archaeological discoveries have contributed in many ways to enrich our knowledge of the early periods of Christian history. It cannot be denied that the results of these investigations as a whole have given testimony in favor of the conservative historical tradition, rather than of the aggressive criticism of the last century. In many cases archaeological evidence has verified or confirmed traditions to which historical criticism had denied any positive value, and solved what had been regarded as insoluble problems. Where literary evidence was lacking or inconclusive, archaeology and ancient liturgy have furnished the historians of the early centuries of the Church new sources of knowledge of inestimable value.

A striking illustration of this is found in a recent book, "Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Liturgische und archaeologische Studien" (Bonn, 1915), in which Professor H. Lietzmann collects and analyzes a body of liturgical and archaeological evidence relating to the tombs of Peter and of Paul in Rome, and comes to the conclusion that the old Roman tradition which venerates Peter's grave at the Vatican and that of Paul on the Ostian Way is historically sound, and that no serious objection can be raised against it. Coming from a well known Protestant scholar, this new and very valuable contribution to the *vexata quaestio* was warmly welcomed by eminent Catholic writers. "Was den Hauptteil des Buches angeht, so müssen wir Katholiken dem Verfasser geradezu dankbar sein. Wir hätten die Katholische Tradition nicht besser verteidigen können, als er es getan hat," says Rauschen (*Theologische Revue*, 1916, pp. 11 f.); and Professor Buonaiuti, of Rome, remarks that "fair play in scientific research has effectively overcome all confessional bias" (*Religio*, 1920, p. 78). Lietzmann's work did not pass unnoticed in America. Professor W. W. Rockwell

made a detailed survey of it in the *American Journal of Theology* (1918, pp. 113-124), and Professor Kirsopp Lake called to it the attention of the readers of the *American Historical Review* (April 1920, p. 483). But the importance of the question itself, and the fact that since the publication of Lietzmann's book, further excavations under the Basilica of St. Sebastian ad Catacumbas in Rome have supplied new and important material, make necessary a new survey and discussion of the whole problem.^{1*}

Lietzmann's efforts are directed towards tracing the tradition of the Apostolic tombs in Rome as far back as the third century, so as to be able to connect it with the well known statement of Gaius (about 200 A.D.) quoted by Eusebius: 'Εγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ὡστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (H. E. ii. 25, 7), "I can show the trophies of the apostles. Go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, and thou wilt find the trophies of the founders of this church." This statement is not decisive, it leaves room for doubt; but if we succeed in obtaining satisfactory evidence from other sources that about the middle of the third century the sites at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way where today stand the two great Basilicas were venerated as being the resting places of the bodies of Peter and Paul — so Lietzmann's argument seems to run — we must conclude that the tradition is genuine; the silence of all the literary sources from *ca.* 64 to 200 is regrettable, but does not invalidate the tradition, because there is to be put on the other side the absence of any rival claims in behalf of other cities, and positive archaeological evidence.

"If the graves shown about the year 200 had been fictitious, the error or fraud must have occurred by 170 at the latest. By that time, however, the custom of Christian burial in the catacombs was fully developed. One who was careless or meant to deceive would be likely to 'find' the remains in the catacombs, near those of other Christians, where Christian sentiment was dominant, where Christian worship was easy. The relics might have been 'invented' lying side by side. The ancient and unanimous tradition, however, finds the graves of Peter and Paul widely separated, hard by well-

* See Notes at the end of this article, pp. 87-94.

travelled roads, each alone in the midst of heathen graves. The natural explanation is that the ancient sites are genuine: that beneath the Hall of the Three Emperors there actually rest the remains of Paul and under the mighty dome of Bramante those of Peter.”²

Whatever may be thought of the probative value of this argument, so well presented by Lietzmann, it is undeniable that if we find a sound basis for the Roman tradition, so that the *τρόπαια* named by Gaius must really be identified with the tombs of the Apostles, we may assume that a definite step has been made towards the final historical solution of this problem.

The most important source of information about this tradition is found in the ancient Roman liturgy. The oldest *Feriale* of the church of Rome known to us, the so-called Philocalian Calendar,³ mentions two liturgical commemorations of the Apostles. The first is given under the 22d of February (*VIII Kal. Martias. Natale Petri de Cathedra*), and is intended to be a commemoration of the beginning of the episcopate or the apostolate of Peter. Its institution goes back to the first half of the fourth century. “The choice of the day,” says Duchesne, whose conclusions are followed by Lietzmann, “was not suggested by any Christian tradition. In the ancient calendar of pagan Rome the 22d of February was devoted to the celebration of a festival (*Caristia*, or *Cara Cognatio*), popular above all others, in memory of the dead of each family. The observance of this festival and the participation in its ceremonies were considered as incompatible with the profession of a Christian, but it was very difficult to uproot such ancient and cherished habits. It was doubtless to meet this difficulty that the Christian festival of the 22d of February was instituted.”⁴ This festival arose too late to shed any fresh light on the question of Peter’s pontificate in Rome.⁵

The second commemoration of Peter mentioned in the Philocalian Calendar, is that of the 29th of June, which is common to both Peter and Paul: *III Kal. Iul. Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense. Tusco et Basso Cons.* The consular date corresponds to the year 258. “Evidently we have here, not the anniversary of the martyrdom of either of the apostles, or of

them both together, but merely the commemoration of the translation of their relics to the place called *ad Catacumbas*, at the third milestone on the Appian Way.”⁶ This is the interpretation given to the passage of the Feriale by Duchesne and commonly accepted by historians. Lietzmann deals at length with this point, and fortifies Duchesne’s theory by pointing out that in the Oriental martyrologies the festival of June 29 is ignored, while recourse was made to an artificial liturgical construction in assigning the commemoration of Peter and Paul to December 28.

If this interpretation of the Philocalian text is right, we have an historical datum of the greatest importance for the whole question in the fact that in the year 258 a liturgical commemoration was instituted for the temporary translation of the bodies of Peter and Paul from their resting places at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way to the site *ad Catacumbas* on the Appian Way. If this translation is proved to have happened, we have in it the connecting link with Gaius’s *τρόπαια*, and the whole Roman tradition of the apostolic tombs may be considered as resting on a secure historical foundation. This is the pivot of the whole situation. To make the case stronger, just as Lietzmann’s book was ready for publication, fresh excavations within the basilica *ad Catacumbas* brought to light a new and apparently irrefragable evidence that as early as the latter part of the third century the memory of Peter and Paul was an object of special cult in that place. The author was thus able to add to his book a new chapter (pp. 116–121) and an appendix (pp. 180–183) dealing with this opportune archaeological evidence, although on account of the lack of more complete information he gave to some important details of the new discoveries an entirely erroneous interpretation. The excavations, interrupted in May 1916, were resumed for a short period in 1917, and then again in 1919, with very important results. In the light of the new data, the great majority of the Roman archaeologists⁷ think that the question has been finally settled, and that the translation of the Apostles *ad Catacumbas* in the year 258 or even earlier is an established historical fact. Let us see whether such a conclusion is warranted by the docu-

mentary evidence on which rests the assumption of the translation ad Catacumbas, and by the archaeological evidence which is supposed to complete and to make irrefragable the testimony of the documents.

The first explicit mention of the fact that the bodies of Peter and Paul were once sheltered *ad Catacumbas* is found in the Liber Pontificalis. In the life of Pope Cornelius (251–253) it is said that the pope, yielding to the instances of the pious lady Lucina, restored Peter's body to the Vatican *iuxta locum quo crucifixus est*, while Lucina herself assumed the task of taking back the body of Paul to the site on the Via Ostiensis, *iuxta locum quo decollatus est*.⁸ This part of the Liber Pontificalis was compiled with the use of older documents, at the beginning of the sixth century; but the whole narrative of the translation is admittedly of a legendary character. If the bodies were restored to the old places in 251–253, the entire theory based on the consular date (258) in the Feriale would break down.

The tradition appears more definite, and with a great wealth of detail, in the apocryphal *Passiones* of the two Apostles, which probably were written about the middle of the fifth century. The Latin *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* relates that some Greek Christians, shortly after the death of the Apostles, made an attempt to steal their bodies and take them to the East, but were prevented by an earthquake and other miraculous occurrences from going farther than the site ad Catacumbas, on the Appian Way, where the Romans stopped the robbers, "*et ibi custodita sunt corpora anno uno et mensibus septem, quousque fabricarentur loca in quibus fuerunt posita corpora eorum.*"⁹ Similar is the narrative in the *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου* and in the *Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*; ¹⁰ the latter, however, affirms that the bodies remained ad Catacumbas only one year and *six* months, instead of *seven*.

A different story is told in the *Passio Syriaca* of the martyr Sharbil.¹¹ According to it the Praetor of Rome, in the times of Pope Fabianus (236–250), ordered all foreigners living in Rome

to leave the city. The Oriental Christians asked from the Praetor permission to take their dead with them, which the Praetor granted; whereupon they set about removing the bodies of Peter and Paul. When the Romans objected to such a removal, the Orientals replied: "Learn and see that Simon, who is called Kephas, is of Bethsaida in Galilee, and that the Apostle Paul is of Tarsus in Cilicia." So the Romans let them take the bodies; but while they were removing them, a great earthquake threw the city into a panic, and not only were the bodies laid down in their places again, but the whole city was converted to the Christian religion.

The legendary acts of St. Sebastian, also mention the place ad Catacumbas *iuxta vestigia Apostolorum*, and the fifth century *Acta Quirini* say of the same place, "*ubi aliquando iacuerunt*," (sc. the Apostles). Finally, in the life of pope Damasus in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Cononian abridgement of the year 687) it is said that Damasus "*dedicavit Platonium in Catacumbas ubi corpora Petri et Pauli apostolorum iacuerunt, quam et versibus exornavit*." This statement is correct, as concerns what Damasus did, but the clause *ubi corpora . . . iacuerunt*, in a document compiled in the late seventh century, may be dependent on the legend and cannot be safely attributed to the compiler's source. This point will be made more clear when we come to deal with Damasus's inscription.

Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), in a letter to the empress Constantina, tells the story of the robbery attempted by the Greeks¹² and thus gave to the legend the consecration of his authority. The *Notitiae* and the *Itineraria* of the Middle Ages do not fail to mention that ad Catacumbas *olim requieverunt Apostolorum corpora*,¹³ thus perpetuating the tradition, which survived down to the modern times. According to these mediaeval documents, however, the bodies of the Apostles remained ad Catacumbas for a much longer period, that is to say forty years,^{13a} and in others as much as 252 years.^{13b}

It is evident, therefore, that the first explicit mention of such a tradition appears only in documents which in the best case are not older than the fifth century, and by common acknowledgment are of a legendary character, and furthermore

give contradictory accounts about the time, the motives, and the circumstances of the assumed translation of the bodies of the Apostles. The only conclusion that can properly be drawn from these stories is that, about the middle of the fifth century, the tradition connecting the site ad Catacumbas with a temporary tomb of Peter and Paul, was already in existence. If this tradition had no other support than these legends, it could be dismissed with a few words; but there is another series of documentary sources, much older and more trustworthy, which although they do not make explicit mention of the translation ad Catacumbas, may be construed and interpreted as implicitly containing a positive statement about it.

And first, the liturgical commemoration of the Apostles ad Catacumbas. The passage of the Philocalian Calendar quoted above puzzling as it is, leaves no doubt that the commemoration of the Apostles on the 29th of June was already old when Philocalus compiled his Chronography. In effect, this date as we have already noticed, was not that of the martyrdom of either Peter or Paul, and yet when Philocalus copied the list of the *Depositio Martyrum* in his Chronography, the 29th of June was considered in Rome as being truly the *dies natalis* of the Apostles. This implies that the original meaning of the commemoration was already forgotten, and therefore that the commemoration itself had been instituted long before the times of Philocalus. The date of 258 (Tusco et Basso Cons.), if it is not a mistake, and has any meaning at all, can only be that of the institution of this commemoration ad Catacumbas.¹⁴

But according to the text of the *Feriale* only Peter was commemorated ad Catacumbas, while Paul's commemoration was held in the traditional place on the Ostian way — *Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense*. This is a serious difficulty, because it is impossible to admit that between 336 and 354, when the two redactions of the Chronography were made, Peter was commemorated only ad Catacumbas and not at the Vatican. Moreover, there is another source, in which we find a different text, viz. the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which says: *III Kal. Jul. Romae Via Aurelia Natale Sanctorum Apostolorum*

Petri et Pauli. Petri in Vaticano Via Aurelia. Pauli vero in Via Ostiensi. Utrumque in Catacumbas. Passi sub Nerone. Basso et Tusco Consulibus. The Hieronymianum was compiled in Southern Gaul, probably in Auxerre, between the years 592 and 600, by putting together partial lists belonging to various churches. One of the most important sources of the compiler was an old Roman list, or local martyrology, of which we find traces in the latter part of the fourth century,¹⁵ so that we may assume with a measure of certainty that the passage above quoted, stood in a Roman martyrology which must have been in use in Rome, perhaps in the time of Philocalus, or at least only a few years later. From this passage we gather that in the latter part of the fourth century the *natale* of the Apostles was celebrated in Rome on June 29 in three different places, that of Peter at the Vatican, that of Paul on the Ostian way, and of both ad Catacumbas. The date of their martyrdom is given rightly under Nero. The consular date corresponding to the year 258 is also added, evidently from the old *Feriale*, but without any explanation.

It was thought that the divergence between the *Feriale* and the Hieronymianum could be explained by supposing that when the first redaction of the Philocalian was made the body of Paul had already been restored to the site on the Ostian way, in the newly built basilica, and therefore his commemoration also returned to the old place,¹⁶ whereas Peter's body was still ad Catacumbas, perhaps because the Vatican basilica was not yet completed; when several years later, the Roman martyrology (source of the Hieronymianum) was compiled, the translation of Peter's body had also taken place, and the commemoration was held at the Vatican; the memory, however, of their temporary deposition ad Catacumbas was perpetuated by keeping up the commemoration of both in that place. The weak point of this theory lies in the fact that while we may admit that in 336 the Vatican basilica may have not been completed, and that Peter's commemoration consequently could be held only ad Catacumbas, it cannot be admitted that the same condition existed in 354 when Philocalus revised his Chronography. By that time the Vatican basilica was already open for wor-

ship, and we have evidence that the veneration of Peter's memory was there fully established. Philocalus, therefore, who was living in Rome and in the ecclesiastical circles, could not have failed to add to the *Feriale* the commemoration of Peter at the Vatican. That about that time the commemoration of the Apostles was celebrated in the three places mentioned by the Hieronymianum, we have a proof in an old hymn attributed to Ambrose of Milan, in which it is said that on the 29th of June

Trinis celebratur viis
festum sacrorum martyrum.¹⁷

We must infer that the text of Philocalus is perhaps mutilated and therefore unreliable — “il faut le sacrifier,” says Duchesne. The Hieronymianum becomes our best authority on this point. But apart from the late date of its compilation, we are familiar enough with the methods used by the compiler, and the instance of his duplication of the festival *de Cathedra* obliges us to be on guard. And if we must be distrustful of its express statements, much less is it permissible to rely upon it and draw further inferences from suspicious sources. In conclusion neither the *Feriale* nor the Hieronymianum affords either implicit or explicit evidence that a translation of the bodies of the Apostles ever took place in Rome: all that can be gathered from them is that at a certain time, perhaps after the middle of the third century, a commemoration of Peter was instituted ad Catacumbas, and that either at the same time or later a corresponding commemoration of Paul had been coupled with it. But there is no hint that the institution of this commemoration was due to a translation of the bodies of one or of both ad Catacumbas; on the contrary, this origin is implicitly excluded by the assumption that the 29th of June is the *dies natalis* of the Apostles. The date 258 given by the *Feriale* and reproduced in the Hieronymianum may be only a mistake; but in any case, it may be explained, as we shall see later, in a different way than by admitting a translation of the bodies. A more important literary source is Damasus' inscription mentioned in the passage already quoted of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Of this tablet only a small fragment has been found, but the text of the inscription

has been preserved by the old itineraria. According to the best reconstruction it read as follows:

Hic abitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes
 Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris
 Discipulos oriens misit quod sponte fatemur,
 Sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti
 Aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum.
 Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
 Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.

“Thou must know that formerly saints dwelt here, and their names, if thou wish to inquire, are those of Peter and Paul. We confess willingly that the Orient sent these disciples. By the merit of their blood (their martyrdom) they followed Christ to heaven, and reached the celestial refuge and the kingdom of the saints. Rome merited the privilege of defending them as being its citizens. Damasus relates these things in your praise, O new stars.”

Damasus' poetical style in general is not notable for clearness; we must confess, however, that if this inscription appears to be an intricate puzzle, the fault is perhaps with the interpreters. It is assumed that in the first verse there is a clear statement (*habitasse prius*) that the Apostles had temporarily lodged in tombs ad Catacumbas, while in the antithesis of the third and sixth verses (*Oriens misit; Roma meruit defendere*) a no less clear allusion is discovered to the attempt of the Orientals to steal the bodies, and to the resistance of the Romans to this attempt.

There is no doubt that the inscription was so interpreted by the authors of the legends that flourished in the fifth century. Even a literary dependence may with much probability be recognized, as for instance in the passage of the *Passio* which says, “*Gaudete et exultate (o Romani), quia patronos magnos meruistis habere,*”^{17a} which evidently recalls the “*Roma meruit potius*” of Damasus. It might not be going too far to surmise that it was from such an interpretation of the inscription that the legend arose — it would not be the only case of legends which originated in misunderstanding of inscriptions finding their way into Christian hagiography. But if, forgetting the legend, we try to understand Damasus' awkward poem in the

light of the events of the time in which Damasus wrote it, we may find his inscription as clear as it must have been to his contemporaries.

The suggestion that the inscription may allude to the antagonistic attitude of the Eastern towards the Western Church, has been summarily dismissed as being out of the question. And yet I think that it is exactly what Damasus means by his antithesis, *Oriens misit — Roma meruit*. It must not be forgotten that it was in the pontificate of Damasus that a Council formally recognized the Church of Constantinople as standing on an equal footing with the Church of Rome. Bad feeling between the two great branches of Christianity had existed for long time. The Western Church had not forgotten that under the reign of Constantius it had been obliged to accept at Rimini the Arianizing theology of the eastern bishops who had the ear of the emperor, nor the violent measures taken against the recalcitrant western prelates. The West had learned to distrust the East, and these feelings played a great part in the whole history of that period. Damasus himself, under the influence of the intrigant Peter of Alexandria, made the disastrous error of alienating the sympathies of the theologians of the Cappadocian group, who were the staunchest supporters of orthodoxy, and were anxious to coöperate with Rome for the pacification of the Church.¹⁸

The situation was made still worse by the obstinacy with which Damasus in Rome and Ambrose in Milan insisted on recognizing as legitimate bishop of Antioch the intruder Paulinus, unlawfully ordained by Lucifer of Cagliari while passing through Antioch, against the legitimate bishop Meletius. The climax came at the Council of Constantinople (381). Thanks to the efforts of the Cappadocians and of their friends¹⁹ the theological formulations of the council were strictly orthodox; but on the other hand the Council did not hesitate to reject the claims of the West for Paulinus; nay it gave to Meletius, the bishop condemned by Rome and Milan, the presidency of the Council. It went still farther and after Meletius' death, which happened a few days later, refused to recognize Paulinus *pro bono pacis*, and had a new election held for the see of An-

tioch, emphasizing the fact that the East, would not brook the interference of the West in matter of episcopal elections or church discipline. And finally, it was the same Council that formulated the famous third Canon, attributing to the see of Constantinople, the New Rome, the same standing in the Church as the see of the Old Rome, to which was reserved nothing but an empty honorary precedence.

Now it was during these excited conciliar debates about Paulinus's case that some of the bishops uttered the famous remark, "After all Christ was born in the East," to which the pious bishop of Constantinople and new president of the Council, Gregory of Nazianzus, who was in favor of a more conciliatory policy, replied, "Yes, but it was because in the East it was easier to be crucified."²⁰ That sentiments like those to which the bishops gave utterance at the council were very common among the people there, Gregory's own description leaves no doubt. Not only the young ones *τύρβη νέων*, but even the old bishops, *ἡ σέμνη γερουσία*, were like enraged hornets:

* Ἀτακτα παφλάζουσιν ἢ σφικῶν δίκην
ἄττουσιν εὐθὺ τῶν προσώπων ἀθρόως.

Much more incensed must have been the common people, the *δῆμος κολοιῶν*, who were wont to take a more direct part in all religious issues than the western Christians. It is quite natural to suppose that they would boast also of the eastern nationality of Peter and Paul. A late echo of those popular expressions may be found in the *Passio Syriaca* quoted above, where to the remark of the Orientals, "Remember you Romans that Peter was born in Bethsaida and Paul in Tarsus," the discomfitted Roman had no reply. It would not be strange if Pope Damasus to counteract the impression that such claims might make upon his flock, and especially among the simple minded and ignorant, thought it advisable, now that they had been voiced even in a council, to take the opportunity of the dedication of the *Platomum*, to assert once more the rights of Rome. What Damasus says in effect is: "Yes, Peter and Paul were born in the East, you do not need to remind us of that (*sponte fatemur*), but it was here that they gave their blood, it was here that

they were reborn to the immortal life, and therefore Rome has the right to claim and defend them as its citizens."

We find ourselves on less firm ground in the interpretation of the first verse of Damasus's inscription: "*hic abitasse prius.*" It cannot be denied that the verb *habitare* is found in the epigraphic terminology in the meaning of *to be buried*; Damasus himself in another inscription has it in this meaning.²¹ But it is not impossible that in the inscription ad Catacumbas the verb *habitare* may have been used in its primary meaning, 'to dwell,' of a living person. It is not only possible but very likely that in that place, which much later was called ad Catacumbas, and where during the first century stood a large villa whose substructions have been discovered under the basilica, Peter may have found a refuge while living in Rome. There are traces that such was the case. Professor Marucchi himself who stands *unguibus et rostris* for the translation of the Apostles ad Catacumbas, not only does not deny the possibility of such a connection, but, on the contrary, thinks that there must have been an old tradition linking Peter with that neighborhood on the Appian way, a tradition which would explain the choice of the place for the cemetery of Callistus and the legend of the *Quo Vadis*.²² The *habitasse prius* of Damasus may be an echo of this tradition which disappeared when it was superseded by that of the translation.^{22a}

That Peter only, and not Paul, would be thus originally connected with the site ad Catacumbas is not a valid objection. The old Feriale of the Roman Church does the same. Moreover, we know that the Roman tradition of the third and following century was for various reasons strongly inclined to couple the names of the two Apostles on all occasions. Were not their *dies natalis* assigned to the same day, although they were executed neither the same day nor the same year? Peter and Paul was already a binomial like Castor and Pollux, and it has been remarked that Damasus, when he invokes the Apostles as *nova sidera*, must have been thinking of the *lucida sidera*, the title given by Horace to the Dioscuri protectors of the pagan Rome.²³

In this connection it will be useful to pay attention to the

circumstances of Damasus' times. It was a time in which the cult of the martyrs was acquiring immense importance in the life of the Church. Searching for the concealed bodies of the martyrs of the various persecutions had become a favorite occupation of both bishops and laymen. Hundreds of relics of supposed martyrs were brought to light, and churches and chapels were erected in their honor.²⁴ In many cases the martyr himself would reveal in a dream the place of his grave. It was thus that Ambrose of Milan discovered the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius. Damasus himself, who spent a great deal of his energy in finding and restoring tombs of martyrs²⁵ seems to have received visions of this kind, like that which led him to the identification of the remains of the martyr Eutychius:

Nocte soporifera turbant insomnia mentem,
Ostendit latebra insontis quae membra teneret
Quaeritur, inventus colitur, foveat, omnia praestat.²⁶

It is easy to perceive that such a practice could not fail to lead to serious abuses. As early as the year 401 an African council found it necessary to forbid the erection of altars in places pointed out by visions: "*Quae per somnia et per inanes quasi revelationes quorumlibet hominum ubique constituuntur altaria omnimode prohibentur.*" The *Memoriae Martyrum* were permitted only where there were bodies of real martyrs, or "*ubi origo alicuius habitationis, vel possessiomnis vel passionis, fidelissima origine traditur.*"²⁷ Although a decree of a provincial council, it reflects a situation which was more or less general, and the official attitude of the Church against the abuses. In Rome the procedure on this matter was always more regular than elsewhere, and it seems that the restrictions later formulated at Carthage for the Church of Africa were already applied in Rome in the time of Damasus. In fact, the poet pope does not fail to mention in his inscriptions the historical circumstance which justifies the cult of a martyr in a given place, and when he is not sure of the facts he is careful to say *fama refert*, or *Damasus haec audita refert*. It seems strange, however, that in the case before us, while he gives the fact as certain (*cognoscere debes*), he should mention such an important thing as the temporary occupation by the Apostles of tombs ad Catacumbas

with the ambiguous verb *habitasse*, without adding any explanatory clause.²⁸

That the verb *habitasse* is to be taken in its natural meaning will be evident when we see, as we shall, that a translation of the bodies of the Apostles to the Appian Way not only is not warranted by any positive testimony, but appears for various reasons to be highly improbable. Really, what could have been the motive for the removal of the bodies? The legend of the oriental thieves is out of the question.²⁹ Duchesne thought that the answer was to be found in the consular date (258) in the *Feriale*. The Church was under persecution, and in the preceding year (257) an imperial edict forbade all kinds of Christian meetings, especially in cemeteries. It seems that an armed guard was stationed to enforce the law in the places more frequented by the Christians. The apostolic tombs at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way must have been the first to be put under strict surveillance. It was natural under such circumstances that the Christians should think of removing the bodies of the Apostles to a new place, where they could hold their meetings without arousing the suspicion of the police. The site ad Catacumbas was exceptionally well adapted for such a purpose.

Against this hypothesis which found almost universal acceptance, serious objections were raised by no less an authority in the hagiographic literature than the Bollandist Fr. Delehay.³⁰ First of all, it must be remembered that respect for the tomb was one of the most sacred traditions of Roman life, and that the Roman law was very severe against the transgressors.³¹ To violate a tomb and remove the remains was a capital crime. When, on account of extraordinary circumstances, a removal was necessary, it could be done only after the granting of a special permit. There is no example in Rome of the tombs of the martyrs ever being molested by the government even in times of fierce persecutions. The Christians therefore had nothing to fear for the tombs of the Apostles. Moreover, we can hardly think that the Christians, while they were being persecuted, would dare to transgress a law which was severely enforced at any time and the violation of which would have

drawn upon them fresh rigors of the law and the wrath of the superstitious populace. Not to mention that, if the cemeteries were, as we have reason to believe, under heavy guard, it must have been a very difficult task to accomplish such a removal.

It is more natural and more simple to suppose that the Christians of Rome, unable to meet in the usual places and to invoke the Apostles in the vicinity of their graves, held their religious meetings in the villa ad Catacumbas, which must have been the property of a rich Christian, and there celebrated the commemoration of the 29th of June which was destined to become the great festival of Peter and Paul. The choice of the place may have been suggested not only by its safety as on private property, but also by the tradition connecting it with Peter.³²

A removal of the bodies was not only unnecessary and impracticable, but against the feelings of the Christians of Rome, who very likely would have considered such a thing as a sacrilegious attempt. As a matter of fact we have no instance of translations of bodies of martyrs in Rome during the first five centuries. The so-called translations of which mention is found in catalogues and martyrologies as having happened in Rome during that period are either of a legendary character, or are special cases which cannot be classified as real translations. Such, for example, is the case of the bodies of Pope Pontianus and of Hippolytus brought from Sardinia to Rome. Those who were deported for any reason and died in exile were frequently reclaimed by their relatives, and the government usually did not refuse the permission, because they were considered as bodies which had not been *perpetuae sepulturae tradita* and as such their removal was an act of piety. In the same way the body of Pope Cornelius, who died an exile in Centumcellae, was brought back to Rome.

The two instances quoted by Lietzmann (pp. 84-87) to prove that translations were common in Rome, that of Parthenius and Calocerus (May 19, 304) and that of Blesilla (September 22, 304) have no historical basis. That their bodies were removed from one place to another in the same cemetery was never any-

thing but an hypothesis of De Rossi's which has been completely discarded, because there is no archaeological evidence of such a translation, and the year (304) mentioned by the Philocalian is really that of their martyrdom.³³ No less groundless are the supposed translations of Zephyrinus³⁴ and Silanus³⁵ from one cemetery to another, and that of Fabianus³⁶ from the cemetery of Callistus to the place ad Catacumbas. The cases of the martyr Quirinus, bishop of Siscia in Pannonia, and that of the so-called *Quatuor Coronati*, are of a different kind. They were not Roman martyrs, but their remains were brought to Rome under peculiar circumstances. When the barbarians invaded Pannonia some Christians fled thence to Rome carrying with them the relics of Quirinus, their martyr patron. As for the *Quatuor Coronati*, the translation, if it ever happened, did not take place before the sixth century, although they were venerated in Rome as early as the fourth century.³⁷ In conclusion, there is not a single piece of incontrovertible evidence that translations of martyrs were practised in Rome until we come to the late fifth century. While in the East, and in the western provinces which had been influenced by the eastern discipline, translations of martyrs became common shortly after the peace of the Church, and their bodies were without any respect dismembered and scattered through the various churches to satisfy the demand for relics, Rome adhered firmly to its ancient discipline,³⁸ piously respecting the tombs of its martyrs, and refusing to touch them even at the request of emperors and empresses. The letter of Gregory the Great mentioned above was written in reply to a request made by the empress Constantina begging the pope to send to Constantinople relics of the bodies of Peter and Paul. "*Romanis consuetudo non est*," replied the Pope.³⁹ The translation of the bodies of Peter and Paul, supposed to have taken place the year 258 or at an earlier date, would be therefore a *unique case* in the history of the Roman Church of the first centuries; and it is quite logical that before accepting it as an historical fact we should ask better evidence than that afforded by baseless legends or by equivocal interpretations of doubtful texts. Has archaeology supplied this evidence?

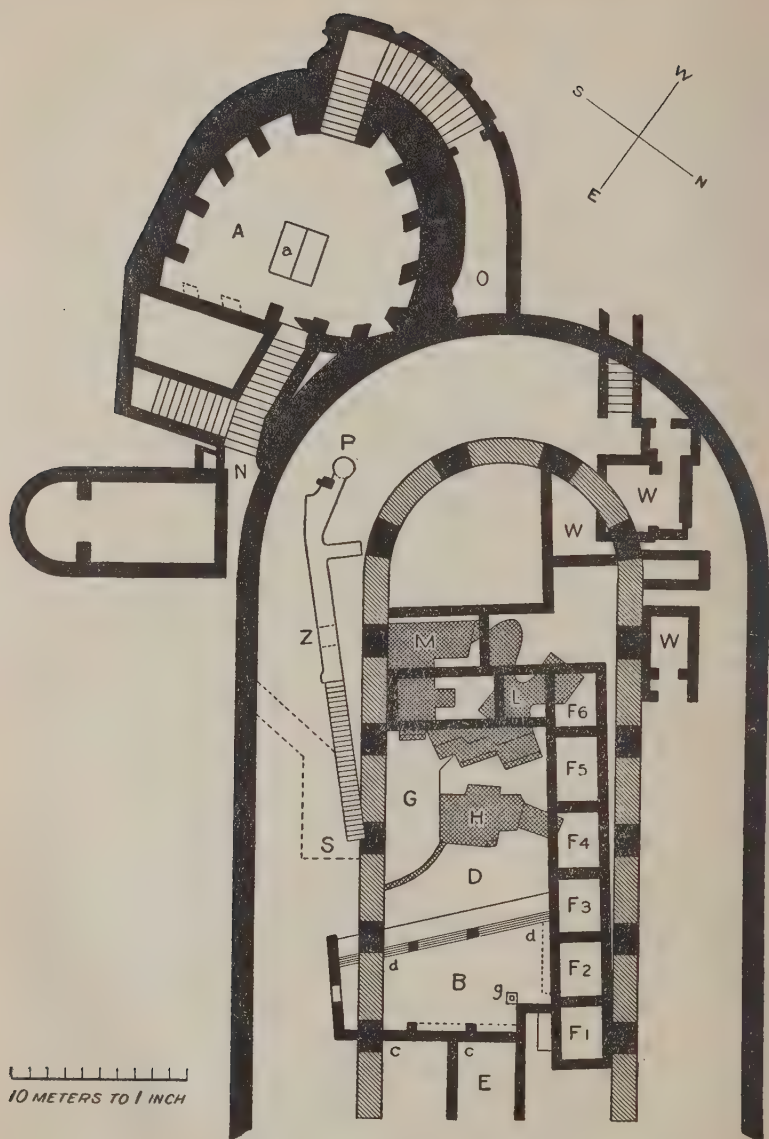


PLATE I

The Basilica of St. Sebastian ad Catacumbas on the Appian Way was originally built as a memorial to the Apostles Peter and Paul, and up to the eighth century was called *Basilica Apostolorum*. It was erected in the second half of the fourth century, probably under the pontificate of Damasus.⁴⁰ The basilica had originally three naves without a transept, and with a peribolos instead of an apse.⁴¹ In the eighth century, probably under Pope Adrian I (772-795), the whole building was collapsing, and it was thought necessary to close the two lateral naves by walling up the spaces between the pillars, the basilica being thus left with only its central nave. Extensive restorations carried on under Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the sixteenth century gave to the church its present uninteresting aspect. Outside the walls of the old basilica at the left side of the peribolos there is a small crypt (Plate I, A) which is now called *Platonía*,⁴² and probably since the sixteenth century has been identified as the place where the bodies of Peter and Paul were deposited while ad Catacumbas. Access to the *Platonía*, whose level is about 17 feet lower than the Basilica, was originally by a stairway on the east side (N), but in the course of Borghese's restoration this entrance was walled up, and a new entrance was constructed on the west side (O). Within the *Platonía* is a cella (*a*) in the form of a sarcophagus decorated with marble slabs and divided into two sections, as if it were made for two bodies. It is surmounted by a vault which still shows traces of paintings. The double sarcophagus was thought to be that which once held the remains of the Apostles. Around the wall of the *Platonía* there are thirteen *arcosolia* ⁴³ decorated with stucco reliefs, which were supposed to contain the tombs of the early popes.*

* *On the plan (Plate I).*— A, *Platonía*. B, *Triclia*. D, Court. E, Cella S. Faviani. F 1-6, *Columbaria*. G, Cavity, 30 feet beneath the level of the Basilica. H, L, M, Roman funereal chambers. N, Old stairs to the *Platonía*. O, New stairs to the *Platonía*. P, Bottom of the excavation, 40 feet beneath the level of the Basilica. S, Stairway leading to the gallery. Z, Plastered strip on the walls of the gallery. W, Remains of a Roman Villa. *a*, Cella (*bisomus*) under the *Platonía*. *c-c*, Wall of the *Triclia* on which are the graffiti. *d-d*, Parapet of the *Triclia* facing the court. *g*, little fountain in the *Triclia*.

The small building with an apse, at the left of the Basilica, is the so-called *Domus Petri*.

In 1893 an investigation was made under the direction of Mgr. De Waal to ascertain whether the traditions were confirmed by archaeological evidence. The results were wholly unexpected.⁴⁴ Instead of containing the tombs of the early popes, the spaces within the arcosolia were found filled to their capacity with tombs in form of pigeon-holes, dating from the fifth century. In demolishing a superstructure added to the arcosolia in order to make room for other tombs, the old wall of the Platonía was discovered and on it a monumental inscription in six verses running around the whole semicircular hall. The first verse and part of the last were still legible:

Quae tibi martyr rependo munera laudis
Haec Quirine tuas . . . probari.

It was evident that the Platonía was not the Memoria Apostolorum, but a memorial of the martyr Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, whose remains, as has been said above, were brought to Rome in the beginning of the fifth century, and according to the Acta: "*Via Appia miliario tertio sepelierunt in basilica Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ubi aliquando jacuerunt, et ubi S. Sebastianus Martyr Christi requiescit in loco qui dicitur Catacumbas; aedificantes nomini eius dignam ecclesiam.*" The Platonía was this *digna ecclesia* built for Quirinus. The lower part of its walls belonged to a Roman building which was older than the Basilica, as is evident from the fact that the northern corner of the Platonía was cut to make room for the wall of the apse, while the upper part of the walls seems to be posterior to the Basilica.⁴⁵ Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) removed the remains of Quirinus from the Platonía to the Basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere and from that time the original destination of the Platonía began to be forgotten, making room for the tradition which connected it with the Apostles.

The builders of the old basilicas on the sites where there was a Memoria of a martyr in whose honor the basilica was erected, used to orient the whole building so that the Memoria would be included within the walls and if possible in the central part, under the altar, or the so-called Confession. The Platonía had been considered to be an exception to this rule, but once its supposed connection with the Apostles was found to be mis-

taken, it became clear that traces of the old *Memoria Apostolorum* could be found only under the pavement of the central part of the basilica itself. A careful survey of several mediaeval *Itineraria*, and of the descriptions of the basilica left by Panvinio (1570) and Ugonio (1590), confirmed this conjecture; and finally the discovery by Grisar of a decree of indulgence granted by Pope Leo X in 1521, in which are given topographical indications about the altars of that church, left no doubt that in

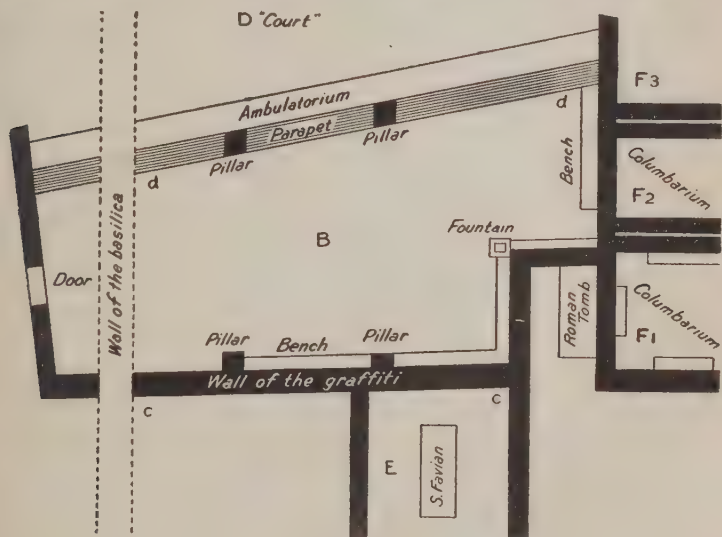


PLATE II

the central part of the nave there had been an altar called *altare reliquiarum*, having at one side the *Sepulchrum S. Petri* and on the other the *Sepulchrum S. Pauli*. That altar disappeared at the time of the unfortunate restorations of Borghese.

In March 1915 the new excavations were begun near the place where the altar of the relics probably stood (Plate I, B). From a few inches beneath the pavement to a depth of seven feet the site was found crowded with *formae*, or brick tombs, arranged in stories. Some of them had dated inscriptions, the oldest of which gives the consular date corresponding to the

year 356 or 357 A.D. If this necropolis was started after the basilica had been built, we must conclude that the basilica itself was erected about that time, that is to say under the pontificate of Liberius.⁴⁶ When the tombs had been removed, it was found that the site had been a hall of irregular shape of about 160 square feet. (See Plate II, p. 73.)

It was closed on the east side by a wall (c-c), the upper part of which was demolished to make way for the pavement of the basilica. On the lower part of this wall were traces of a bench running along its whole length. The upper part was decorated with frescoes representing climbing vines, and doves, and from the line of the bench up was covered with scrawls (*graffiti*) of various types in Latin and Greek letters. The opposite wall (d-d) was but a low parapet with two pillars to support the roof. The hall was therefore open to the southwest on an adjacent court (D). On the northern side the hall was closed by three Roman columbaria (F1, F2, F3). These columbaria were found elegantly decorated and still contained some of the *ollae*.⁴⁷ It was not difficult to identify this hall with one of the so-called *trichiae* or *pergulae* which during the fourth century could be seen commonly near Christian basilicas or cemeteries.⁴⁸ They were covered with a light roof of tiles, or even simple vines, and there the Christians gathered to celebrate funereal banquets. The bench around the walls, the little fountain in the corner (g), the frescoes, and the graffiti mentioning such banquets, leave no doubt that ad Catacumbas there was a *trichia* attached to the Memoria Apostolorum.⁴⁹ Behind the wall c-c, but on a higher level than the pavement of the trichia, there was a cella (E) in which were three sarcophagi containing mummified bodies. Within the middle sarcophagus above the head of the body, was a marble opisthographic tablet with the inscription: "*S. Favianus ic requiesit.*" The form of the letters is of a mediaeval type. Lietzmann (p. 120) thought that in this cella and in these sarcophagi the Apostles had been deposited. There is no ground for such an assumption: it is impossible to admit that the hiding place of the bodies could have been on a higher level than the trichia; and moreover if the sarcophagi had been those of the Apostles they would not

have been used for other bodies, nor the place crowded with other tombs.

At the same time, excavations executed under the right side of the apse brought to light imposing remains of an old Roman villa, with some halls beautifully decorated, and with a number of inscriptions and objects of classic Roman art.⁵⁰ (Plate I, W.)

At the close of this first phase of the excavation, while the discovery of the triclinia had introduced new elements into the problem, yet the attempt to find traces of the *Memoria Apostolorum* had failed. New excavations carried on for short periods during 1916 and 1917 did not throw any further light on the subject, although three other columbaria (F4, F5, F6) added new details to what was already known about the topography and the use of the site before the erection of the basilica.^{50a}

In 1919 excavation was begun in the upper part of the court (D). When it was carried down to the tufaceous rock on which stand the foundation walls of the basilica, a large cavity (G) was found reaching the depth of about thirty feet below the level of the pavement of the basilica. Here was made the unexpected discovery of a group of three large funereal chambers irregularly disposed on a broken line (H, L, M), dug deep into the rock, with entrance doors in the area of the cavity (G). On one of those doors there is the name of M. Clodius Hermes, and paintings representing funereal banquets. Other paintings were found within the chamber, while two other chambers are adorned with stuccoes of fine workmanship. One of them was originally a columbarium adapted afterwards for interments; the other two contain *loculi*, or burial niches, similar to the Christian *cubiculi*. The chamber L seems to have belonged to a *collegium funeraticium*. There is no doubt that these sepulchres were originally built and used by pagans. The date of their construction is to be assigned to the first or second century; but there is evidence that they were in use up to the middle of the third century. On the rocky wall of the cavity (G) other tombs were dug, probably by Christians, as is inferred from an inscription.⁵¹

These discoveries proved two things: *first*, that on that site there was a necropolis of pagan origin and connected with the

buildings which we call the Roman villa; and, *second*, that Christians themselves used this necropolis before the construction of the basilica. The unusual depth of the cavity with its surrounding tombs explains why the name *ad catacumbas* was given to the place. It is well known that the name *catacumba* belonged originally to this site, and only afterwards was extended to other Christian cemeteries. De Rossi proposed the etymology of *κατά* and *accubitoria* (*cumbae*), but it seems more

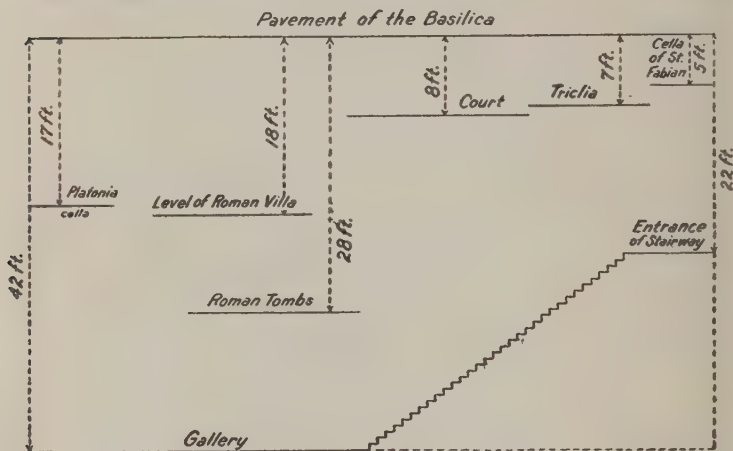


PLATE III

probable, and it is confirmed by the present discovery, that the name owes its origin to *κατά* and *κύμβος* (deep cavity with a concave bottom).

During the excavations of 1915, on the left side of the court (D), was discovered the beginning of a stairway (S) at about twenty-two feet below the pavement of the basilica. (Plate III). The entrance had been partially obstructed by the wall of the left nave, and was filled with debris. When in 1919 this debris was removed it was found that the steps ran down a depth of more than forty feet, to a gallery three feet wide and twelve feet in length, which ended in a kind of cella of irregular shape about seven feet wide. Behind this cella there was the bottom of a pit (P), whose mouth was found at the level of the old

Roman villa. The walls of the gallery show the tufa through which it is dug, with exception of a plastered strip (Plate I, Z) about three feet wide, not far from the end of the stairway on which graffiti are scrawled as on the wall of the triclia.

This last discovery was again thought to have solved the problem. According to Professor Marucchi the bodies of the Apostles were hidden in this gallery, exactly under the plastered strip. The names of Peter and Paul scrawled on the strip several times, with the usual invocation, *In mēte habete*, leave no doubt that the gallery was connected with the cult of the Apostles ad Catacumbas. It seemed strange, however, that no other signs could be found in such a holy place, than a few rude and hardly decipherable charcoal scrawls — no inscriptions, no paintings, no decorations of any kind, nor any trace of a tomb or of an altar. Was this the venerated Memoria Apostolorum? This was plainly a serious difficulty for the theory. Marucchi tried to explain the enigma by supposing that originally the gallery ended at the point where there is the plastered strip, under which he supposes that the bodies of the Apostles were deposited. Being a temporary shelter, and so small that there was hardly room for anything else but the coffins, no work of ornamental character was done in it. Later, after the removal of the bodies, in order to make the place more accessible to pious visitors, the gallery was prolonged as far as the pit, and this gave origin to the mediaeval legend that the bodies of the Apostles were hidden in a pit. The mouth of the pit, which was originally at the level of the Roman villa, was raised so as to emerge near the wall of the crypt called Platonía, and within the Platonía Pope Damasus built the Memoria Apostolorum, that is, the cella under the altar where is the sarcophagus divided in two sections by a marble slab. This sarcophagus was never used; it never contained the bodies of the Apostles, but was a mere cenotaph, commemorative of the translation of the venerated relics. Later, the martyr Quirinus was deposited in the same crypt, but not in the sarcophagus, and the Platonía became at the same time a monument to Quirinus, without ceasing to be the Memoria Apostolorum. Professor Marucchi's explanation is very in-

genious, but it is too conjectural to be accepted without further evidence.^{51a}

After all the whole burden of proof is put upon the graffiti in the gallery and those of the triclia. It is to them that we must turn for conclusive evidence.

In the triclia were found 191 fragments of graffiti, some still on the wall, but mostly in the debris of the same wall scattered among the tombs, or on the floor of the triclia.⁵² Thirty-three of them are written in Greek,⁵³ the rest in Latin. They may be divided in three classes: *a.* those which give only names like Felicitas, Vitalis, Maxima, Quiracius, and even Cristus.⁵⁴ *b.* those which contain invocations to Peter and Paul. This is the largest class:

PAVLE ET PETRE PETITE PRO VICTORE
 PAULE PETRE PETITE PRO ERATE ROGATE
 PAVLE ET PETRE IN MENTE HABETE SOZOMENUM ET
 PETRUS ET PAVLVS IN MENTE HABEATIS ANTONIVS
 ΠΕΤΡΕ ΕΤ ΠΑΤΑΑΙ ΙΝ ΜΕΝΤΕ
 ΠΑΤΑΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΤΑΙ ΤΙΜΟΚΤΑΘΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΤΤΧΕΙΑΝ
 . . . Paule et PetRE A PETITE PRO NATIVV IN PERPETVVm

and many other of the same kind.

c. The third class (only eight graffiti) contain the word *refrigerium*, in a meaning which is new in Christian epigraphy.

. . . DVS ΙΝ . . . Ε REFRIGERAVImus
 FELICISSIMVS CVM Suis
 XIII KAL APRILES
 REFRIGERAVI
 PARTHENIVS ΙΝ DEO ET NOS ΙΝ DEO OMNES
 AT PAVLVm
 ET PETrum
 REFRIGeravi
 DALMATIVS
 BOTVM ΙS PROMISIT
 REFRIGERIVM
 PETRO ET PAVLO
 TOMIVS COELIVS
 REFRIGERIVM FECI

and three others, in a more fragmentary condition but in which

the word *refrigerium* is easily recognizable. The graffiti of the gallery are few and contain invocations like:

VI IDVS AVG. PRIMVM . . . PETE . . . ORATIONIBVS ET BOTIS
 PETRE ET PAVLE IMMENTEM (sic) HABE
 TE PRIMVM ET PRIMAM IVGALE EIVS
 ET SATVRNINAM CONIVGEM . . . PRIMI
 ET VICTORINVM PATREM . . . IN
 SEMPER IN AETERNO . . .

PETRE ET PAVLE IN Mente habete

On the arch is one scrawl in which probably the first two syllables of the word *REFRIGerium* may be identified, and near it there is a rough sketch of a cup with handles.

The graffiti of the first and of the second class do not afford any special evidence. Styger⁵⁵ suggests that invocations of martyrs are usually found in the cemeteries and only near their tombs, and therefore invocations like *Petre et Paule in mente habete*, would not have been written on the wall of the trichia and of the gallery unless the bodies of Peter and Paul were there. *Nimis probat*. No doubt graffiti with invocations are found commonly in the cemeteries and near the tombs of the martyrs, but that the Christians in Rome could not or would not write invocations to the Apostles in a place which, although it did not contain their relics, was dedicated to them, is still to be proved.

The real importance is with the graffiti of the third class. From them it is evident, that the Christians used to gather in the trichia and to celebrate there or in the gallery the rite of *refrigerium*; but the *refrigerium* is essentially a sepulchral rite; therefore the *refrigeria* in honor of Peter and Paul celebrated in that place necessarily suppose the presence of the bodies of Peter and Paul ad Catacumbas. It seems a strong argument, but its strength is more apparent than real when it is carefully analyzed.

First of all, what is this rite of the *refrigerium* mentioned by the graffiti of the trichia? The word *refrigerium* (ἀνάψυξις) is peculiar to the Christian Latinity,⁵⁶ and is found frequently in its metaphorical meaning of eternal joy in heaven or spiritual

refreshment in general.⁵⁷ Such a use in Christian inscriptions, is not uncommon. Equally common is the use of *refrigerium* in its material meaning of food and the like.⁵⁸ Tertullian (Apol. c. 39) uses the word of the fraternal agape of the Christians: "*inopes quosque refrigerio isto iuvamus.*" The agapae, or fraternal banquets, offered to the poor members of the community, had no relation to any funereal ceremony, and were held in the usual meeting places of the Christians. Now the word *refrigerium* in the graffiti of the trichia cannot be taken in its metaphorical meaning, but only in the material meaning of a banquet. A *trichia*, or *pergula*, was usually a place where friends and relatives would gather, "*ad confrequentandam memoriam quiescentium*"⁵⁹ with a funeral repast — "*Locum aediculae cum pergula et solarium tectum junctum in quo populus collegii epuletur.*"⁶⁰ No doubt the trichia ad Catacumbas was one of these places. After the excavations of the year 1915, when it was thought that the necropolis was later in time than the basilica, the existence itself of the trichia in that place was considered as convincing evidence that it had been built near the tombs of the Apostles to celebrate their memory with fraternal banquets. The excavations of 1919 have left no doubt that a pagan cemetery and after it a Christian one occupied the site before the basilica was erected, and therefore the trichia may not have been originally dedicated to the Apostles. There is, however, no doubt that it was used at some time for banquets in honor of the Apostles. Were those banquets of a funereal character, implying that the bodies of the Apostles were ad Catacumbas when the banquets were held?

Such a question leads us to inquire about the period in which the graffiti were written. Dr. Styger remarks quite rightly that it is a rather difficult investigation. The graffiti, which usually are scrawls from the hand of common people, always present the most puzzling combinations of hand-writing. Side by side with letters of an archaic form, we find others anticipating new forms which only later acquired right of citizenship in the caligraphic tradition. The difficulty is still greater when these graffiti are found in a city like Rome, where people from all the corners of the world flocked together and would naturally use

in writing their provincial peculiarities and traditions. In general, so far as palaeography can judge, the graffiti of the trichia may belong to the third as well as to the fourth century. But fortunately in the present case there are other elements than palaeographic guesses from which a more definite conclusion may be arrived at. As for the *terminus ad quem*, it is fixed by the erection of the basilica, at which time the upper walls of the trichia were demolished, open access to the place was cut off, and it was converted into a burial vault. As we said above, the basilica was built in the pontificate of Liberius or of Damasus, that is to say between 356 and 384. As for the *terminus a quo*, the rite of the *refrigerium* itself may throw some light on the date of the graffiti.

If the refrigeria to which the graffiti in the trichia bear witness were banquets in honor of the Apostles and near their tombs, they cannot have taken place before the second decade of the fourth century. It was only after the peace of the Church that such banquets in honor of the martyrs began to be celebrated. On this point we have the explicit and unimpeachable testimony of Augustine, who says:

. . . Post persecutiones tam multas, tamque vehementes, cum facta pace, turbæ gentilium in Christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantia epularum et ebrietate consumere, nec facile ab his . . . voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse maioribus nostris ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festos, post eos quos relinquebant, alios in honore sanctorum martyrum vel non simili sacrilegio, quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur.⁶¹

The graffiti of the trichia were therefore written between 320 and 356 or 380.

It is suggested also that the *refrigerium* included, besides the banquet, the rite of pouring a libation on the tomb of the martyrs, and that the pious visitors ad Catacumbas, after the banquet in the trichia, would go down to the gallery, stop under the plastered strip, and complete their ceremony by pouring the content of their cup into a little hole of which traces were found in the floor.⁶²

But against all these assumptions there are serious objections. First of all, if *refrigerium* must be interpreted as a banquet at the tomb of a martyr, would it be a necessary in-

ference that between 320 and 380 the bodies of Peter and Paul were still ad Catacumbas? We have already remarked that if the translation of the bodies to their original resting places had taken place after Constantine, such a great event would certainly have left some trace in the records of the time. As a matter of fact, the archaeologists themselves who hold fast to the tradition that the remains of Peter and Paul found a shelter ad Catacumbas assign this event either to a very early period, shortly after the death of the apostles,⁶³ or to the year 258; but all of them agree that the bodies remained ad Catacumbas for a very brief time — one or two years.^{63a} It has to be admitted, therefore, that the *refrigeria* were held ad Catacumbas *absente cadavere*, and only because the place had once been sanctified by the presence of the bodies of the Apostles. This would be possible, so far as the banquet is concerned, but it is difficult to account in the same way for the pouring of libations. We have evidence that perfumes were poured on the real tombs of the martyrs in the fourth century, and we read in Prudentius,

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
violis et fronde frequenti
titulumque et frigida saxa
liquido spargemus odore.

and in the poem to St. Hippolytus,

Oscula perspicuo figunt impressa metallo
balsama defundunt, fletibus ora rigant.⁶⁴

We have evidence also that libations of wine were made by the Christians *super tumulos defunctorum*" (Augustine, Sermo 190), and also on the tombs of the martyrs, in the belief that they would enjoy the refreshment. Paulinus of Nola looked with indulgent eyes upon this kind of superstition:

. . . quia mentibus error
Inrepat rudibus; nec tantae conscia culpae
Simplicitas pietate cadit, male credula sanctos
Perfusus, halante mero, gaudere sepulchris.

Poema xxvii. Natale de S. Felice, 564-567.

But we have no proof that this performance was called *refrigerium*, and no evidence whatever that it was done anywhere but at the actual tombs of the martyrs. Moreover, if the *re-*

frigerium was a banquet to be held at the tomb of a martyr, would it not be strange that the Roman Christians, or visitors from the provinces, should hold their banquets in honor of Peter and Paul ad Catacumbas, in the place where the bodies of the Apostles were not, when they could have gone to the real tombs, which were not only equally accessible but even more easily reached than the site three miles out on the Appian Way?^{64a}

In the last analysis the whole question hinges on the meaning to be assigned to the word *refrigerium* in the graffiti of the tricia. The Roman archaeologists agree that it is used in a way which has no example in Christian epigraphy. When we read *Petro et Paulo Tomius Coelius refrigeravi*," we cannot interpret the words of an offering for the eternal rest of Peter and Paul, as they would first suggest. In the fourth century the cult of the martyrs was already well developed, and although among simple-minded Christians there might be room for misunderstanding,⁶⁵ yet it is not probable that in Rome the custom of offering prayers and oblations for the Apostles could have been so long tolerated in one of the places sacred to their memory. The meaning of the phrase is, "Tomius Coelius celebrated a *refrigerium* in honor of Peter and Paul." But then is it not evident that the word *refrigerium* has lost its original meaning and its connection with a funereal rite which was the essential part of that meaning? The fact, also, that these graffiti ad Catacumbas present the only instances of the use of *refrigerium* in the sense of a banquet, not for, but in honor of, somebody, joined with the fact that such a use is not found in regular inscriptions which would give it a kind of official sanction, but in scribbles traced on walls by common people — is not this a strong indication that the word *refrigerium* had come in the popular use to signify merely a banquet, having a loose religious connection and celebrated in a place dedicated to the memory of a martyr?

In other words, I do not see why, when it is admitted that the *refrigeria* celebrated ad Catacumbas are not the usual *refrigeria* known to us from other sources, but a peculiar celebration which here for the first time we find called *refrigerium*,

it must be taken as self-evident that such a celebration, improperly called *refrigerium*, retained the original sepulchral character of the true *refrigerium*. We are entitled at least to the benefit of the doubt. The argument would be cogent only in case we were prepared to interpret the graffito as meaning that Tomius Coelius, in his pious ignorance, offered a *refrigerium* for the eternal rest of Peter and Paul. In that case the funereal character of the ceremony could not be denied, and the graffiti would supply the evidence that the bodies of Peter and Paul were — or once had been — there. But as yet no one is ready to accept such an interpretation.

There is a passage in one of Augustine's Epistles which may, it seems to me, suggest a plausible explanation for the *refrigeria* ad Catacumbas. It is well known that the custom of holding banquets at the tombs of the martyrs rapidly degenerated, and like the pagan celebrations of which they were a thinly disguised survival, became veritable orgies. Early in the second half of the fourth century the Church started a campaign for their abolition. In the already quoted epistle to Aurelius, bishop of Tagaste, Augustine, then only a presbyter, tells how he had tried to persuade the people of Hippo to follow the example of those churches beyond the sea which had never indulged in such banquets or had already abolished them. It seems that somebody in his audience remarked that in Rome, even in the Vatican Basilica, people held banquets and got drunk every day:

Et quoniam de basilica beati apostoli Petri, quotidianus vinolentiae proferebantur exempla, dixi primo audisse nos saepe esse prohibitum, sed quod remotus sit locus ab episcopi conversatione et in tanta civitate magna sit carnalium multitudo, peregrinis praesertim, qui novi subinde venirent, tanto violentius quanto inscitius illam consuetudinem retinentibus, tam immanem pestem nondum compesci sedarique potuisse.

This custom has been forbidden again and again, says Augustine, but it has been impossible to stop it, because those banquets are celebrated in places far from the surveillance of the bishop, and because Rome is such a large city and there are always so many pilgrims both ignorant and drunkards.

No doubt in Rome, and especially at the tombs of the Apostles, many restrictions must have been imposed to check

the abuses of these banquets. Such restrictions, as always happens, hit first the poor folk, while they were not enforced against wealthy and influential people like Pammachius, who in 397 gave a great banquet at the Vatican, as a *refrigerium* for the soul of his deceased wife, Paulina.⁶⁶ The poor people, and those who wanted more freedom, had to search for a more available place than the gorgeous basilicas of the Vatican or the Ostian Way. For this the site ad Catacumbas was well adapted; it was a *locus remotus ab episcopi conversatione*, and was connected by an old tradition either with both the Apostles, or at least with Peter; and there those who were not allowed to do so at the Vatican held their religious banquets to which they gave the name *refrigeria*, perhaps like those celebrated at the tombs of the Apostles. And thus these banquets, assuming the name of *refrigeria* by analogy, may well have been one of the things which contributed to create the legend of the translation of the bodies of the Apostles ad Catacumbas.

Augustine's epistle is dated in the year 392, but he says that prohibitions against the banquets had been issued again and again, and we may safely assume that in Rome the reaction against these abuses must have been felt strongly at least from the middle of the century. Now, according to Dr. Styger, explorer of the trichia, the graffiti might have been written during the second half of the century, and not very long before the destruction of the trichia. As for the trichia itself, it is probable that in that place there was from much earlier times a trichia connected with the *collegia funeraticia* which owned their tombs there, and that it was either rebuilt or adapted by the Christians for their *refrigeria*.⁶⁷ It seems, however, that it was not in use by them for any very long time, because the graffiti are not very numerous, and may all have been written within a few years. And, finally, the motive for the construction of the basilica itself may have been not only a desire to honor the Apostles, but also to do away with the trichia and with it the abuses of the banquets. If the basilica was erected under Damasus, as many archaeologists think more probable, we should have a correspondence of dates which makes my suggestion plausible.

The final result is that up to the present the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to validate the tradition that the bodies of the Apostles were at some time or other removed ad Catacumbas and temporarily deposited there. But let us remark by the way of conclusion, that even, *dato et non concesso*, that the *refrigeria* mentioned in the tricia were ceremonies of a sepulchral character, and that the *hic abitasse* of Damasus meant "here were buried Peter and Paul," we should still be far from having the positive proof of the assumed translation. All that could be legitimately deduced from such evidence is that the tradition which appears in literary sources only in the fifth century already existed in the latter part of the fourth century. But could we say that we had thus found for it a sound historical basis? In making the tradition one century older we should not have disposed of the difficulties which stand in the way of supposing that the bodies of Peter and Paul were at any time removed from their tombs. The burden of proof would still be on the archaeologists.

NOTES

1. The articles and publications of which extensive use has been made in writing this article are the following:

Dr. Paolo Styger, Scavi a S. Sebastiano. Scoperta di una memoria degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo e del corpo di S. Fabiano Martire. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 73-110.

Gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo ad Catacumbas. *Ibid.* 1915, pp. 149-205.

A. De Waal, Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas an der Via Appia. — *Supplementheft d. Römische Quartalschrift*. 1894.

Zu Wilpert's Domus Petri. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, pp. 123-132.

Gli Scavi nel pavimento della Basilica di S. Sebastiano sulla Via Appia. — *Ibid.* 1915, pp. 145-148.

O. Fasiolo, La Pianta di S. Sebastiano. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 206-220.

F. Grossi-Gondi, S. J., Il Refrigerium celebrato in onore dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo nel sec. IV ad Catacumbas. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 221-249.

La Basilica di S. Sebastiano sull'Appia dopo le insigni scoperte degli anni 1915-16. — *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, vol. 2, pp. 588-598: 3, pp. 519-534.

La Data della costruzione della Basilica Apostolorum sull'Appia. — *Ibid.* 1918, 3, pp. 230-242.

Orazio Marucchi, Le recenti scoperte presso la Basilica di S. Sebastiano. — *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*. Roma. 1916, pp. 5-61.

Ulteriore studio storico e monumentale sulla Memoria Apostolica presso le Catacombe della Via Appia. *Ibid.* 1917, pp. 47-87.

La Memoria sepolcrale degli Apostoli sulla Via Appia secondo il risultato delle ultime ricerche. *Ibid.* 1920, p. 531.

Conferenze di Archeologia Cristiana. In all the issues of the *Bullettino* quoted above.

H. Grisar, S. J., Die Römische Sebastianuskirche und ihre Apostelgruft im Mittelalter. — *Römische Quartalschrift*. 1895.

E. Buonaiuti, Gli Scavi recentissimi a S. Sebastiano. — *Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*. 1915, pp. 375-381.

G. B. Lugari, I varii seppellimenti degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo sull'Appia. — *Bessarione*. 1898.

T. Wilpert, Domus Petri. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, pp. 117-122.

2. Lietzmann, p. 177. W. W. Rockwell, The Latest Discussion on Peter and Paul in Rome, *American Journal of Theology*, 1918, p. 121.

3. Furius Dionysius Philocalus was either the compiler or simply the copyist of a Chronography, which is but a collection of various Roman chronographic lists. Two of them are those related to the Roman Church which are called the *Depositio Episcoporum*, containing the obituary of the Roman bishops from 255 to 352; and the *Depositio Martyrum*, or list of the commemorations of the martyrs celebrated by the Roman Church, which is supposed to reproduce the oldest *Feriale* of that Church that we possess. Philocalus com-

piled his Chronography first in 336, but later revised it and carried the lists down to the year 354. The text of the Chronography in Monum. Germ. Hist., Chronica Minora I. See Mommsen, Ueber den Chronographen vom Jahre 354. Leipzig, 1850, and L. Duchesne, Liber Pontificalis, I, p. vi.

4. L. Duchesne, Christian Worship (English translation) 5th ed., p. 278.

5. The festival of February 22 often occurred in Lent. In countries observing the Gallican rite, where Lenten observance was considered incompatible with the honouring of saints, the difficulty was avoided by holding the festival on the 18th of January. When about the end of the sixth century the bishop of Auxerre, Annarius, compiled the so-called Martyrologium Hieronymianum, he thought it advisable to keep both dates, that of the Roman Calendar (attributing it to Antioch, a see which was believed to have been also occupied by Peter) and that of the Gallican Calendar, attributing it to Rome. But it was only in the sixteenth century that such an arrangement was adopted by the Roman Church. The assumption that the festival of February 22 might have been originally connected with the veneration of the relic known in Rome as the Chair of St. Peter (De Rossi, Bull. Arch. Christ., 1867, p. 38, and Lietzmann, p. 73) is untenable. No trustworthy mention of such a relic is found earlier than 1217. Cf. Duchesne, Christian Worship, p. 280.

6. Duchesne, *ibid.*, p. 277.

7. O. Marucchi, A. De Waal, F. Grossi-Gondi, P. Styger, and others.

8. According to tradition Paul was executed *ad Aquas Salvias*, which is not exactly *iuxta* the present basilica.

9. Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. Lipsius, I, 175. Cf. P. Styger, Gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo ad Catacumbas, pp. 182-188. Cf. also Lipsius, Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden, II, 391-404.

10. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 220 f.

11. Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents, pp. 61 f.

12. Epist. iv, 30, Ewald-Hartmann I, 264 f.

13. Notitia portarum, compiled about the middle of the seventh century. Cf. Styger, *l. c.* pp. 194-196.

13a. Itinerarium Salisburgense. Cf. De Rossi, Roma sotterranea, I, 180.

13b. Decree of Indulgence of Leo X. Cf. Grisar, *op. cit.* Römische Quartalschrift, 1895, p. 452.

14. Duchesne, Liber Pontificalis, p. civ.

15. *Ibid.*, p. xlv. Duchesne suggests the possibility that the text as it is given in the Hieronymianum is older than the Philocalian.

16. The Hieronymianum (recension of Auxerre) contains a separate commemoration under January 25 of a *Translatio S. Pauli Apostoli*, without any indication as to where this translation had taken place. But we are now too well acquainted with the method used by the compilers of martyrologies in filling the days which had no commemoration to give any importance to this *Translatio*.

17. Ambrosius, Hymn. x.

17a. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 173. The same motive is repeated in the Greek *Πράξεις*: Χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι μεγάλους προστάτας ἡξιώθητε ἔχειν. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

18. Basil of Caesarea wrote again and again to Damasus and to the western episcopacy, but his advances were coldly rejected. Some of his letters did not even get a reply; to another the only answer of Rome was to send Basil a declaration of faith to subscribe. "When one is haughty," wrote Basil to a friend, alluding to the pope, "when from the height of his throne he refuses to listen to those who from a humble place tell him the truth, it is impossible to deal with him about matters of general interest" (Ep. 215). In another letter he says: "Those western people do not know the truth and they do not want to know it; they are seduced by their false prepossessions and dislike those who tell them the truth. I should like to write to their coryphaeus (the pope); I would tell him nothing about ecclesiastical matters, because he has no idea of our true situation and does not care to know what it is, but I would make him understand that one cannot mistake arrogance for dignity, without committing a sin sufficient to provoke the wrath of God." (Ep. 239.)

19. Basil was already dead, but, as Duchesne says, his spirit was present and triumphed in the dogmatic work of the Council.

20. Καὶ τὸν λογισμόν, ὡς ἐπαινετός, σκόπει.
 Δεῖν γὰρ συνάλλεσθ' ἥλιψ τὰ πράγματα
 Ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνονθ' ὅθεν θεὸς
 Ἐλαμψεν ἡμῖν σαρκικῶ προβλήματι.
 Τί γούνη; Μάθωμεν μὴ σέβειν περιτροπὰς
 Χριστοῦ δὲ σάρκα παντὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους
 Οἶσθ' ἀπαρχήν. Εἰ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο,
 Εἴποι τάχ' ἂν τις, ἔνθα πλείον τὸ θράσος
 Ὡς ῥαδίως ἐνταῦθα καὶ θανούμενος
 Ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔγερσις, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σωτηρία.

Carmen de Vita Sua. 1690-96.

21. The epigram for the Martyr Gorgonius:

Hic quicumque venit, sanctorum limina querat
 inveniet vicina in sede habitare beatos.

22. Marucchi, *La Memoria Apostolorum*, in *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1917, pp. 51-53.

22a. An argument in favor of this assumption is afforded by the graffito DOMVS PETRI which was found on the wall of a chamber under a little chapel near the Platonía, now itself called Domus Petri (Plate I). This chamber seems to have been in existence earlier than the basilica. The graffito, however, seems to have been written not earlier than the fifth century, and therefore cannot be considered as reliable testimony to the tradition connecting Peter with the old Roman villa. See Wilpert and De Waal on the *Domus Petri* in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912.

23. The remark was made by the architect Gamurrini of Rome in a lecture given at the Arcadia, July 1, 1917. Gamurrini, who is an authority in archaeology, rejects the tradition that the Apostles were removed ad Catacumbas.

24. Vers la fin du IV^e siècle, on voit surgir sur certains points de la chrétienté, des cultes à qui semble manquer essentiellement la consécration de la tradition vivante. On découvre des martyrs inconnus jusque-là, et on se hâte de leur rendre les honneurs dont les autres martyrs étaient en possession

de date immémoriale. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des Martyrs*, 1912, p. 85.

25. *Hic multa corpora sanctorum requisivit et invenit. Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I, 212.

26. *Ihm, Damasi Epigrammata*, 27.

27. Mansi III, 968, Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, II. 2, p. 129.

28. Delehaye remarks: "L'on reconnaitra aussi que, s'il (Damasus) avait voulu rappeler le séjour de leurs reliques, la tyrannie du mètre ne l'en aurait pas empêché, puisqu'il suffisait, au lieu d'écrire *nomina*, de dire: *corpora quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris*." *Ibid.*, p. 308.

29. The utterances of the Orientals about the nationality of the Apostles, mentioned above, may have contributed to the origin of the legend. It is known how the imagination of the people gives a concrete form to ideas and traditions. It is possible, however, that the legend had an historical foundation in some event which must have occurred in Rome during the first half of the third century. I propose to deal with this point in a work on the Church of Rome at the beginning of the third century, which will appear soon.

30. Delehaye, *l. c.*, pp. 302-308.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 61. Cf. also, Ferrini, *De iure sepulchrorum apud Romanos* (Archivio Giuridico, Pisa, 1883), and Wamser, *De iure sepulchrali Romanorum*. Darmstadt, 1887.

32. In Rome the cult of the martyrs was started much later than in the East and in the Church of Africa. There are no traces of such a cult in Rome before the third or fourth decade of the third century. That explains the fact that when the Church of Rome thought of commemorating its martyrs of the first two centuries it had to fix arbitrarily their *dies natalis*, because nobody knew the exact dates. It is not improbable that the commemoration of the 29th of June in honor of the Apostles was the first to be regularly instituted, and that the date of the institution was recorded (258). I would suggest, also, that such an institution might have been made not only in imitation of what was done in other churches, and especially in the Church of Africa, which was in close relation with the Roman Christian community, but also in consequence of the fact that the Christians were at that time unable to visit the tombs of the Apostles. The commemoration ad Catacumbas was a kind of a substitute for the acts of piety that Christians had been accustomed to perform formerly on the apostolic tombs and which now the persecution prevented them from accomplishing.

33. Pio Franchi dei Cavalieri, *Studi e Testi Vaticani*, 27, fasc. 5, pp. 23 ff.

34. "La translation du pape Zephyrinus n'est point attesté par les documents. C'est un postulat de quelques archéologues et nullement nécessaire pour expliquer des faits établis. Delehaye, *l. c.* p. 77.

35. Of Silanus, the Philocalian says: "*Hunc martyrem Novati furati sunt*. That the Novatians, who posed as the guardians of a rigid morality and of the old traditions, should be guilty of the violation of a tomb, seems impossible. On the other hand, it is quite natural that their enemies might put in circulation slanderous accusations against them. It cannot, however, be considered as an evident fact, especially since as Delehaye remarks: "La mention de l'équipée dans un document qui n'est qu'une aride nomenclature, prouve qu'elle était de fraîche date." *L. c.*, p. 78.

36. The question about the remains of Pope Fabianus is more complex. The supposed translation of them to the Church of Santa Prassede, and later to that of St. Martin, has been proved to be unhistorical (Silvagni, *La Basilica di S. Martino ai Monti*, etc. Rome, 1912); and in any case would fall in a much later period (ninth century). The *Liber Pontificalis* says that he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus, and in fact De Rossi found there the epitaph of Fabianus. The first mention of the removal of the body of Fabianus ad Catacumbas is to be found in the martyrology called *Romanum Parvum*: "*Romae Fabiani papae et martyris ad vestigia Apostolorum sepulti.*" Now the *Romanum Parvum* is a forgery due to Adon, bishop of Vienne, about the middle of the ninth century, as was clearly demonstrated by Dom Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1908, pp. 408-464. The discovery of a body near the trichia ad Catacumbas in 1915, with the inscription *S. Fabianus Martyr ic requiesit*, was taken by Styger (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 100 ff.) and by Grossi-Gondi (*Civiltà Cattolica*) as evidence that the body of Pope Fabianus was really translated ad Catacumbas. But as Professor Buonaaiuti (*Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*, 1915, p. 380) remarks, the inscription found on the body does not say that it was Fabianus the bishop, while such a qualification is always found in the epigraphs of the popes. Moreover, we find in various documents mention of a Fabianus Martyr different from the bishop of the same name. And after all, even granted that the body discovered ad Catacumbas is that of the pope, its translation would have happened in the ninth century.

37. On the legend of the Quatuor Coronati an exhaustive study was published by Pio Franchi dei Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche*, Fasc. 24, Roma, 1912, iii, "I Santi Quattro," pp. 57-66, giving evidence that this assumed translation of the four Pannonian martyrs never took place, and that during the sixth century the relics of four unknown martyrs in Rome were identified with the Quatuor Coronati.

38. The *Consuetudo Romana* is attested by various documents to have been in full vigor in the fourth century. When the Basilica of St. Pancratius was built on the Via Aureliana, on account of topographic difficulties it was impossible to orient the church in such a way that the body of the martyr would be in longitudinal position in relation with the axis of the building. It would have been necessary to turn the tomb, and yet it was preferred to sacrifice the architectural harmony and the tradition rather than touch the tomb. The body *ex obliquo aulae jacebat*, up to the time of Honorius (625-638), when the *consuetudo Romana* had already vanished, and the position of the tomb was changed.

39. In the beginning of the sixth century the emperor Justinian requested Pope Hormisdas (519-524) for relics of St. Laurentius, but the legates of the pope informed him of the *consuetudo Romana*, which was to send the so-called *sanctuarium* or *brandea*, that is to say pieces of linen which had been deposited for a while on the tomb of the martyrs, and to which were attributed the same miraculous powers as to the real relics. On this custom, see Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, pp. 712 ff. in reference to the tombs of the Apostles in Rome.

40. The so-called Cononian abridgment of the part of the *Liber Pontificalis* which contains the life of Damasus mentions only the Platonica as a work

erected under Damasus ad Catacumbas; but a later redaction (Neapolitan mss.) attributes to Damasus the erection of the basilica. This question gave rise to long debates among archaeologists, and it cannot be considered as settled. But there is no doubt that the basilica belongs to the second half of the fourth century.

41. The peribolos was later called *matroneum*, or place reserved to the women.

42. *Platonia*, *platoma*, or *platuma* is a low Latin word, the derived like *platea*, from the concept of space (*πλατὺς*), and means a slab, or rather a space covered with marble slabs. De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, 241. It was rather recently that this name was given to the crypt, when it was thought to be the *Platomum* of Damasus.

43. Originally they were twelve, but one was destroyed in opening the new entrance, and the two on the left side were added by closing a door on the wall.

44. De Waal, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas*, 1894, and *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, p. 146.

45. O. Fasiolo, *La pianta di S. Sebastiano*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 213-214.

46. Grossi-Gondi, in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1918, 3, pp. 588 ff. Such a theory, which is untenable after the excavations of 1919, was even from the beginning contested. See the letter of Professor Giovenale in *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1917, pp. 148 ff.

47. The first of these columbaria seems to have been the property of a *collegium funeraticium*, of the first or second century, but later had been used for inhumations. O. Fasiolo, *l. c.*, p. 218.

48. The *trichiae*, or *alogiae*, or *pergulae*, were frequent in the precincts of the Roman tombs. See a series of texts in Styger, *l. c.*, pp. 156-158. In Africa they were of a rather simpler type and were called *mensae*. It seems, however, that there also the *trichiae* were common near Christian cemeteries and basilicas. Augustine mentions a *Basilica trichiarum* (Enarratio in Ps. xxxii. Sermo ii, 29). Cf. Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 3, p. 521.

49. This trichia ad Catacumbas is the first to be discovered in condition good enough to give us an idea of the plan and the arrangement of such places.

50. The excavations and discoveries relating to classic art and non-Christian archaeology are carried on by the Italian R. Commission of Archaeology, and are illustrated in the *Notizie degli Scavi* and the *Monumenti* of the Lincei.

50a. In one of these columbaria an inscription was found with the name of one "Callistus Imperatoris Caesaris Vespasiani Servus." It was surmised that probably the villa and the fields surrounding it were property of the Christian branch of the Flavii, since the cemetery of Domitilla began not very far from there. (Marucchi, *Bull. Archeol. Crist.*, 1917, p. 56). Others, on the contrary, thought of the family of the Uranii, because among the ruins of an old mausoleum close to the northern walls of the basilica, an architrave was found in which were engraved in large letters the name, VRANIORUM. To his family belonged Ambrose of Milan and his brother Uranius Satyrus. Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 2, p. 598).

51. O. Marucchi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Christiana*, 1919, pp. 7-9.

51a. One of Marucchi's capital arguments is his interpretation of the paintings in the vault of the *bisomus*, or double sarcophagus, which he identifies with the Platomum built by Damasus as a cenotaph to commemorate the Apostles' temporary burial ad Catacumbas. The paintings have almost completely disappeared, but in the traces still apparent Marucchi recognizes the figures of Christ and the twelve Apostles. De Waal, on the contrary, sees in them the figures of Christ, of the Martyr Quirinus, and other unknown personages. Probably there will be no way of settling this question. Cenotaphs in honor of the Apostles were built by Constantine in his Basilica of the Apostles in Constantinople, following the ancient custom which dedicated cenotaphs to heroes buried in far away places; but a cenotaph of Peter and Paul in Rome, a few miles from their real tombs, does not seem to be in harmony with the prevalent ideas of the times. Moreover, it seems quite certain, from the description in the mediaeval documents which have preserved its text, that Damasus' inscription was not in the Platonica. To imagine that it had been already removed from its original place, is only an arbitrary assumption.

52. List and facsimiles of them in Styger, *l. c.*, pp. 81-94.

53. Some of them contain Latin words in Greek letters.

54. Classification of the graffiti in Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 3, p. 521.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

56. The verb *refrigero* is used by classic writers and is found also in pagan inscriptions.

57. In the translations of the Bible, like, "Justus si morte preoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit," Ps. 65, 11. In Christian Latin literature: "Meliores fieri coguntur qui eis credunt, metu aeterni supplicii et spe aeterni refrigerii," Tert. Apol. 39. In Christian Inscriptions, De Rossi, *passim*. Cf. Grossi-Gondi, *Il Refrigerium in onore dei SS. Apostoli*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 222-225.

58. Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis: Quid utique non permittis nobis refrigerare, etc.

59. Inscription in Pompei. *Giornale degli Scavi*, 1869, i, p. 242.

60. Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Coll. n. 2417*. Styger, *l. c.*

61. Epist. xxix, 11.

62. Marucchi, *Bullettino di Arch. Crist.* 1916, p. 13, and 1920, p. 20.

63. Grossi-Gondi, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, p. 242.

63a. According to Marucchi (*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1917, p. 57) the bodies of the Apostles were removed from the place ad Catacumbas to their old tombs during the pontificate of Dionysius, when the cemeteries were given back to the Church (260 A.D.). De Rossi (*Inscr. Christ. II*, p. 231-232) had already come to the conclusion on archaeological evidence that the tomb of Peter at the Vatican was not disturbed when the basilica was built on that site by Constantine. Its supposed removal from the place ad Catacumbas must have happened before the peace of the Church.

64. Peristephanon x, 169-172 and xi, 193-194. Dressel, pp. 65 and 450.

64a. Professor Buoniauti (*Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*, 1915, p. 378), called the attention to the fact that the *refrigerium* or *agape*, though an adaptation of the pagan *parentalia*, yet was not absolutely con-

nected with the tomb, but only with the memory of the martyrs, and could be celebrated outside the sepulchral precinct. Such was the case with the commemorations of the martyrs mentioned by Cyprian, as to be celebrated by himself while far from Carthage and from their tombs (Ep. 12, ed. Hartel): "celebrentur a nobis oblationes et sacrificia." Buonaiuti thinks that *oblationes* here means *agape*, as in Tertullian's passage: "Oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis annua die facimus" (De Corona, 3). Moreover, it seems from St. Augustine's sermons (13, 305, 310) that agapes in honor of Cyprian were celebrated in three different places, and not only at his tomb in Carthage. To these arguments Grossi-Gondi replied at a great length (Römische Quartalschrift, 1915, pp. 231 ff.) insisting on the strictly sepulchral character of the *agape-refrigerium*. This reply, however, still leaves room for doubt, and the impossibility of agapes in honor of the martyrs celebrated outside their sepulchral precincts is far from demonstrated.

65. From what we know about the abuses which are so energetically deplored by Augustine in his famous letter to Aurelius of Tagaste, by the unknown author of the *De Duplici Martyrio*, and by the passage quoted above from Paulinus of Nola, such misunderstandings were far from uncommon, but can hardly be imagined to have inspired all the visitors of the trichia.

66. A description of this banquet in Paulinus of Nola, Epist. xiii.

67. The paintings found in the tombs around the deep cavity represent funereal banquets.

NOTES

SIMON, CEPHAS, PETER

It is generally held that these three names apply to one person, who was the chief of the Twelve Apostles and the first witness to the Resurrection. It is, of course, recognized that there was another apostle named Simon, but he plays only a small part in Christian tradition.

The object of this note is to collect and discuss the evidence that suggests the existence of another tradition which separated Peter from Cephas, and — though the evidence for this point is less good — possibly did not regard Peter but some other Simon as the first witness to the risen Lord. It is not intended to increase knowledge but rather to suggest doubt.

According to all the traditions, beginning with that of Mark, Simon was the name of a fisherman on the Sea of Galilee who followed Jesus. He is called by that name in Mark 1, 16 and in Mark 1, 29 f. But according to Mark 3, 16 when Jesus appointed the Twelve he gave Simon the name of Peter. The text (*καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον, καὶ Ἰάκωβον κ. τ. λ.*) is remarkably clumsy, and if there were any evidence one might suspect that the words *καὶ . . . Σίμωνι* were an interpolation. But Matthew has straightened out the Greek, and speaks of *Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος* (10, 2), and Luke also straightens out the construction with the same statement that Simon was called Peter. Thus there is no reason to doubt the universal tradition that there were two Simons among the list of the disciples and that one of them was called Peter; but was either of these Simons the first witness of the risen Lord? According to Luke 24, 34 the first person to see the risen Lord was Simon, but it is not clear whether this means Simon Peter or some other Simon. The point is one of considerable textual difficulty; in most of the manuscripts we read that the two disciples who had gone to Emmaus had returned to Jerusalem where they found *τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς λέγοντας ὅτι ὄντως ἠγγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι*. If that text is right, Luke is referring in this incredibly casual manner to the first appearance of Jesus, of which he gives absolutely no description. There is therefore not a little to be said in favor of the other reading of *λέγοντες* for *λέγοντας*, found in Codex Bezae and implied by Origen, which must mean that Simon was one of the two who went to Emmaus and

saw Jesus on the road. But in this case Simon cannot be Simon Peter, for the text states that the two who returned to Jerusalem found the eleven, which must include Peter, gathered together in that city. It would be foolish to suggest that this view ought to be adopted, but it suffices to show that the question of the identification of Simon with Peter is not quite so clear as it seems at first.

The question of Cephas is even more difficult, as will be seen if the evidence be taken in approximately chronological order. The apostle Peter is only mentioned once in the Pauline Epistles; Cephas is mentioned eight times. Does Paul mean that they are the same person? In the Epistle to the Galatians¹ he writes . . . ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ γινόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ . . . κ. τ. λ. Is it Paul's intention to identify Peter and Cephas? To call the same man by two names in the same sentence is, to say the least, a curious device, and Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius² as believing that Cephas is intended to be different from Peter; he suggests that he was one of the Seventy. The Epistola Apostolorum and the Egyptian KO go further and produce a list of the Twelve containing the names of both Peter and Cephas.

A similar conclusion might well be reached by a consideration of Corinthians 15, 5, where in recording the appearance of the risen Lord Paul says . . . ὤφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα . . . κ. τ. λ. It is, of course, possible that Cephas is included in the Twelve, but if one had no other information, it would probably be natural to conclude that he was not, in which case he was certainly not identical with Peter.

Why then has Christian tradition so completely lost sight of these doubts, which were clearly present in various forms to Clement of Alexandria and to the still earlier writer of the Epistola Apostolorum? The answer is that the Fourth Gospel definitely states in John 1, 43 that Cephas is Peter — σὺ εἰ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου, σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος. So long as it was believed that the Fourth Gospel was written by one of the Twelve, a contemporary of Peter

¹ Galatians 2, 7 ff.

² Eus. Eccl. Hist. i. 12, 2. ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν Ὑποτιπώσεων, ἐν ᾗ καὶ Κηφᾶν, περὶ οὗ φησιν ὁ Παῦλος, ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς [εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντίστην, ἕνα φησὶ γεγενῆσθαι τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, ὁμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.

and a disciple of Jesus, it was reasonable to accept this as final.¹ But for those who take a very different view of the Fourth Gospel it is not unreasonable to ask why they ought not to share the doubts of Clement and the Epistola. The answer is that we are influenced, and probably ought to be influenced, by a combination of the fact that the Gospel of Mark when it breaks off seems to be leading up to an appearance of Jesus to Peter, and that Paul says that the first appearance of Jesus was to Cephas; ergo, Peter is Cephas. This is no doubt a reasonable proposition, but it is just as well to understand that it does not rest on the strongest possible authority, for Paul nowhere says that Peter is Cephas, though commentators have the bad habit² (to which I plead guilty myself) of constantly talking of Peter when he says Cephas, and Mark never speaks of Cephas at all.

K. LAKE.

FOURTEEN GENERATIONS: 490 YEARS

AN EXPLANATION OF THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS

"So the whole number of generations from Abraham to David is fourteen generations, and from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and from the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah fourteen generations." Matt. 1, 17.

The difficulties presented by the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke, whether examined separately or compared with each other, were early remarked, and the discussion of them is a voluminous chapter in Christian literature.³ The question why the generations are divided into three periods was raised by Chrysostom in a sermon on Matt. 1, 17 (*In Matt. Hom. iv*). The Jews, he says, had in these periods successively three different forms of government, aristocracy,

¹ It is an interesting speculation to ask why Clement did not hold this view. The answer is partly that he wished to save Peter's reputation at the expense of Cephas, who was only one of the Seventy, partly perhaps that he knew Greek a little better than most men and felt better the implication of Paul's words. But I wish we knew more about the text of the Fourth Gospel used by Clement.

² A consideration of the textual phenomena in the Epistle to the Galatians shows that this bad habit is not confined to modern commentators.

³ Friederich Spanheim (1600-1649), in his *Dubia Evangelica* (1639), deals with no less than twenty-six such problems in Matt. 1, 1-17, at a length of 215 solid and solidly learned pages.

monarchy, and oligarchy, and were as bad under the last as under the first; the captivity itself had failed to work amendment. It was every-way necessary that Christ should come.² Spanheim ingeniously recalls the parable in Luke 20, 9-18: after the failure of three missions, God at last sent his son.

Much more to the point than this insinuation of the incorrigibility of the Jews is an explanation which Spanheim adopts from Jansen:³ It was to indicate that at the time of Jesus' birth, fourteen generations after the beginning of the exile, a great change, a new order of things, was imminent, such as had happened at the end of each preceeding period of fourteen generations — the establishment of the kingdom fourteen generations after Abraham; its fall fourteen generations after David. This next great change, according to common Jewish expectations, was the coming of the Messiah; and precisely at this critical moment in history was born, as the title of our genealogy emphasizes, "Jesus Christ (the Messiah), the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Matt. 1, 1). To this verse 17 returns: "From the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah, fourteen generations."

That this was the intention of the author seems clear. But why each of the three periods should be measured by *fourteen* generations is not thus explained. It is true that the fourteen generations from Abraham to David correspond to the genealogies in the Old Testament, and are enumerated in precisely the same way in Jewish lists which count fifteen to Solomon;⁴ while for the third period, from the point where the genealogy of Jesus branches off from the lists in Chronicles in the third generation after the exile (Abiud the son of

² Similarly Theophylact *in loc.*, quoted by Spanheim, *Dubium xv.* (Cur Matthaeus cap. 1. 17 partiatur Genealogiam Christi in certas tesseractecades, et quidem in tres: et cur eas per ἀνακεφαλαιώσιν peculiarem collectas Lectori proponat?)

³ Corn. Jansen, *Comm. in suam Concordiam*, etc., c. 6 (Louvain 1576, p. 49): "Ideo autem in tres quaterdenas Christi genealogiam Matthaeus dividit, ut ostendat sicut ab Abraham usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis bis mutatus est status Judaeorum, binis quaterdenis completis: ita et tertiam illam mutationem status Judaeorum, quae ab eis post transmigrationem expectabatur futura per Messiam convenienter factam post tertiam ab Abraham tesseractecadem, ipsumque Messiam tunc nasci debuisset, ac sic Jesum Mariae filium, qui finis est tertiae tesseractecadis, esse expectatum Messiam magis credibile faciat. Deinde ut ostenderet, sicut fuerunt quatuordecim generationes ab Abraham usque ad David, in quo coepit stabile et liberum Judaeorum regnum, et deinde rursum quatuordecim generationes a Davide usque ad deliquium regni, hoc est, exilium Babylonicum: ita ab hoc rursum tantae usque ad novam regni Davidis restaurationem fuisse quatuordecim generationes. Ex quibus constat quare et Davidem regem vocat, et mentionem faciat transmigrationis Babylonicae."

⁴ Pesikta (ed. Buber) f. 53a.

Zerubbabel), there is nothing to compare it with. But the fourteen generations of the kingdom are strikingly at variance with the record of succession in the Book of Kings — “Why did he skip three kings?” asks Chrysostom, and commentators and apologists have exercised themselves on the question ever since.

The omission of the three kings is by no means the only discrepancy between the genealogy in Matthew and its sources; but it has always been recognized as the gravest, for the kings thus passed over are not obscure or ephemeral rulers. Joash, Amaziah, and Azariah (Uzziah) are, on the contrary, very prominent figures in the history of Judah, the record of whose eventful reigns may be read at large in 2 Kings 11–15,⁵ and who, according to the chronology of the book, occupied the throne for 121 years ($40 + 29 + 52$). At the end of his list, again, he makes Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) the son of Josiah instead of his grandson, omitting Jehoiakim.⁶ By itself this might perhaps be ascribed to a confusion of the two names such as occurs in Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament and elsewhere; but taken in connection with the previous omission of the three kings, it is more probably to be attributed to the same intention, namely to make the period of the monarchy fall within exactly fourteen generations, like that which preceded it.^{6a}

Mere love of symmetry can hardly have been the sole motive for so violent a curtailment of the history; it is more likely that the number fourteen had an intrinsic significance for the author and a decisive importance for his purpose in compiling the genealogy. This purpose was not simply to trace the lineage of Jesus back to David in the royal line, showing that as a descendant of David he possessed one of the necessary qualifications of the Messiah according to prophecy and universal expectation — a qualification which he shared with many others who claimed descent from David. For this purpose it was superfluous to continue the line back to Abraham — that David was descended from Abraham required no genealogical demonstration — and the symmetrical periodization of the history would be meaningless. The symmetry of the genealogy was meant to prove, as Jansen saw, that the time for the advent of the Messiah

⁵ See also 2 Chron. 22, 10–26, 23.

⁶ 2 Kings 23, 34–24, 6; Jer. 36.

^{6a} A genealogy of the Messiah is given in Tanchuma, Toledoth c. 20, ed. Buber, f. 70 a–b. The royal line is followed from David through Zerubbabel. From that point on the genealogy in Chronicles is transcribed, leading to Anani (the cloud man, 1 Chron. 3, 24), who is the Messiah according to Dan. 7, 13.

had come, and that Jesus, who was born just at this point, was the Messiah.

It was the general belief of the Jews that in his plan for the history of his people and of the world God had determined not only the events in their succession, but the times at which they should come to pass; and especially that the great epochs in history, such as the end of their long subjection to the heathen powers and the coming of the promised golden age, were unalterably fixed. They believed also that God had revealed through the prophets certain signs which foreboded the approaching crisis; they made catalogues, so to speak, of these signs, and scanned the horizon of the times for their appearance. From the second century before our era, at least, they combined with such prognostications an attempt to ascertain the date more exactly by numerical calculations based on scripture, as in Daniel and Enoch, and thereafter in apocalypses almost universally.

Daniel, taking the seventy years of Jeremiah (25, 12 ff.; 29, 10 ff.) as seventy weeks of years (70×7), operates with a cycle of four hundred and ninety years, dividing the history into three unequal periods ($7 + 62 + 1$),⁷ upon the last of which the golden age was to follow. Enoch has the same cycle in the vision of the seventy shepherds (89,50-90,25), symmetrically divided ($12 + 23, 23 + 12$); here also the golden age, with the Messiah, immediately follows (90, 28-38).⁸ Both Daniel and Enoch take the beginning of the exile as the *terminus a quo* for their reckoning, and count from that point four hundred and ninety years to the end of the period in which they were living, an end which they believed to be imminent.

The motive of these calculations in the first instance was to prove that the end of the evil time in which the apocalypses were written was close at hand — the widespread apostasy, the cessation of sacrifice and desecration of the temple, the persecution for religion's sake. In less troubled days men turned to them for an answer to the question when the golden age — however they imagined it — was to begin. Christians had another interest in them; namely to prove that their Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, came precisely at the time fixed in prophecy for the beginning of a new era. The attempt to

⁷ Dan. 9, 24 ff.

⁸ In the so-called apocalypse of the ten weeks (Enoch 93; 91, 12-17), which divides the history of the world, past and future, from the creation to the last Judgment, into ten "weeks," the weeks are probably periods of 490 years. A golden age (the eighth week) follows the apostasy of the seventh (coming down to the Hellenistic age). The close of the tenth brings the great judgment. The three last (8-10) lie in the author's future.

demonstrate this from the seventy weeks of Daniel occupies a large space in the history of Christian apologetic.⁹

In the light of what has been observed above and of this apologetic motive, it is probable that the "fourteen generations" from the deportation to the birth of Christ are meant to cover exactly the four hundred and ninety years which according to Daniel and Enoch were to elapse between the beginning of the exile and the inauguration of the new era; and, assuming that the author took the length of a generation at thirty-five years, his fourteen generations give exactly the necessary number ($35 \times 14 = 490$).

The use of generations as the basis of a schematized chronology is common. Hecataeus of Miletus and other Greek logographers derived their chronology in this way from genealogies, reckoning forty years to a generation. Herodotus calculates how long it was from the first king of Egypt to Sethos (ca. 700 B.C.) from the statement of the priests that between the two there were three hundred and forty-one generations of high priests, and exactly as many of kings. He counts three generations to a century, and thus obtains 11,340 years for the duration of the period. The systematic chronology of the Old Testament historical books employs periods of four hundred and eighty years, or twelve generations of forty years each. Apart from this chronological scheme, which appears to have been imposed on the history in the sixth century, there is no evidence in the Old Testament that a generation was reckoned at forty years; and to infer from it that the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era counted thus is as unwarranted as it would be to make a similar generalization for the Greeks from the chronology of Hecataeus.

Herodotus counts, as we do, three generations to the century;¹⁰ but the century had no such significance for the Jews at any time as it had for the Greeks and their successors, and it is for this reason unlikely that the Jews fixed the length of a generation at a third of a century. It would be much more natural for them to divide the

⁹ The older interpretations in this sense — Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius — are quoted at length by Jerome in his commentary on Dan. 9. To these may be added Jerome himself, Chrysostom (Adv. Judaeos ii), and Aphraates (Demonstratio 23). A "futurist" interpretation seems to have been first proposed by Apollinarius of Laodicea (quoted by Jerome, *u. s.*).

¹⁰ Another estimate, thirty years, based on physiological considerations is ascribed by Plutarch to Heraclitus, and later became common. The same reasons for it are set forth by Porphyry, *Quaest. Homer.* 14 (on Iliad i, 250), quoted by Wettstein on Matt. 1, 17.



seventy years of normal human life by two, giving a generation of thirty-five years, which is close enough to the average as far as common observation goes, and keeps the generation in its proper genealogical relation. An example in which a generation is reckoned at thirty-five years is Job 42, 16, where it is said that after his rehabilitation "Job lived a hundred and forty years, and saw his sons and his son's sons, four generations."¹¹ If Matthew meant his fourteen generations to fill four hundred and ninety years, he was reckoning in the same way. It is, therefore, not an objection to our hypothesis that it requires us to assume a generation of thirty-five years.

The fourteen generations in each of the two preceding periods, from Abraham to David and from David to the deportation, must be meant to give the same measure of time, four hundred and ninety years. The duration of the latter period agrees tolerably well with the chronology of the historical books, which gives four hundred and eighty years from the building of Solomon's temple to the return from the exile; from the accession of David to the beginning of the exile would be about the same.

To express this in terms of generations, however, the author is compelled to do such violence to the history as has been noted above. From Abraham to David he had the fourteen generations given him; but here he was compelled to ignore the biblical chronology, which allows four hundred and eighty years from the exodus to the building of Solomon's temple alone (1 Kings 6, 1), to say nothing of the time between Abraham and the exodus.¹²

The really important thing for the author are the four hundred and ninety years that end with the birth of Christ. By our chronology, based on the canon of Ptolemy, there is a discrepancy here of a whole century, for Jehoiachin was deported to Babylon in 597 B.C. Such a comparison is unreasonable; the Jews, who, until the Seleucid era came into use, had no fixed era, and no canon of Ptolemy, were widely at sea in the chronology of these centuries. There was no native succession of rulers before the Asmonaeans; the records of the priests were doubtless destroyed when Antiochus Epiphanes sacked the temple and converted it into a temple of Zeus. Their own historical books, with the exception of the brief episode of Ezra and

¹¹ A mediaeval Jewish interpreter, Isaac ibn Jasos, inferred that wherever a generation is spoken of in the Bible, it is to be taken as thirty-five years, for which hasty generalization he is castigated by Ibn Ezra.

¹² Exod. 12, 40 gives (in the present Hebrew text) 430 years to the sojourn in Egypt; Gen. 15, 33 a round 400. Cf. Gal. 3, 17; Acts 7, 6.

Nehemiah, were a blank from the restoration of the temple¹³ to the time of Alexander, and there end. The "seventy weeks" of Daniel, to the predicted fall of Antiochus Epiphanes, whatever *terminus a quo* be taken for Dan. 9, 25, are from fifty to seventy years too long; for the Christian interpretation, which finds its *ad quem* at the birth or at the death of Christ,¹⁴ they are not long enough by a hundred years or more. The Talmudic chronology in Seder Olam Rabbah 28, which makes the seventy weeks stretch from the first destruction of the temple to the second¹⁵ (seventy years the temple lay in ruins, it stood after it was rebuilt four hundred and twenty years), is in the same case: its four hundred and ninety years are by our chronology a hundred and sixty-six years too short.¹⁶ Even if the Jews had had more accurate knowledge of dates in the Persian and Greek periods than they possessed, chronology could never be allowed to contradict the sure word of prophecy.

The fact that four hundred and ninety years bring us, according to *our* reckoning, only to 96 B.C. does not therefore militate against the intention of the genealogy to bring them down to the birth of Christ; and it can at least be said that in measuring them as a whole by fourteen generations the author did not involve himself in a whole series of intermediate conflicts with ascertained dates such as appear in the more detailed chronology of the Seder Olam.

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THE MEANING OF JOHN XVI, 8-11

Καὶ ἔλθων ἐκεῖνος ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ κρίσεως· περὶ ἁμαρτίας μέν, ὅτι οὐ πιστεύουσιν εἰς ἐμέ· περὶ δικαιοσύνης δέ, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὑπάγω καὶ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με· περὶ δὲ κρίσεως, ὅτι ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κέκριται.

In all the English versions except the Rheims New Testament of 1582 *δικαιοσύνη* in this passage is translated 'righteousness.' The

¹³ In our chronology 516 B.C.

¹⁴ Or the destruction of Jerusalem, or even the war under Hadrian.

¹⁵ In our dates, 586 B.C. to 70 A.D.

¹⁶ In a later chapter (30) the Seder Olam specifies: for the duration of Persian rule after the restoration of the temple 34 years; for the dominion of the Greeks, 180; Asmonaeans 103; Herod and his successors 103, or 420 years in all; which with the 70 of the exile make 490.

Rheims translators, who based their work on the Vulgate, wrote 'justice' wherever they found *iustitia* in the Latin text before them;¹ and hence δικαιοσύνη in verses 8 and 10 is rendered 'justice.' Whichever way the word is translated, John 16, 8-10 probably conveys no definite meaning whatever to most readers of the English Bible.

The commentators agree in taking δικαιοσύνη in the sense of 'righteousness,' understanding it as the opposite of ἀμαρτία. The Paraclete will convict the world, i.e., all those who are alienated from God and opposed to Christ, concerning the three "cardinal elements in the determination of man's spiritual state."² Or, as a more recent commentator puts it, sin, righteousness, and judgment are among the things with which the Christians had chiefly to deal in the conflict with their opponents. In regard to these the Paraclete will deliver authoritative pronouncements and maintain the cause of the disciples against the world.³ What then is meant by righteousness here? Westcott understands it in the widest sense: "In Christ was the one absolute type of righteousness; from him a sinful man must obtain righteousness."⁴ Meyer, B. Weiss, and others refer it to the righteousness or moral perfection of Jesus.⁵ His departure from the earth and presence with the Father are the proof of his righteousness.⁶

The present writer believes that another and a better interpretation of John 16, 8-11 can be given. The office of the Paraclete, according to the Fourth Gospel, is the twofold one of convicting the world and of guiding the disciples into all the truth. In the verses quoted above the first part of the Paraclete's function is described, namely that of convicting the world. Ἐλέγχειν means properly to convince or bring home something to one; often, as in the present case, it signifies to confute or to convict. Δικαιοσύνη in the LXX and in the New Testament has two closely related meanings — 'righteousness' or

¹ The Vulgate renders δικαιοσύνη by *iustitia* everywhere except in Acts 17, 31 and Rom. 8, 10. In Rev. 22, 11, where the best manuscripts read *iustitiam faciat*, the text used by the Rheims translators, like the standard edition of the Vulgate (1592), had *iustificetur*.

² Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John* (1900), p. 228. It should be noted that the Paraclete is not the disciples' comforter. He is God's advocate in the world on behalf of the truth, just as Christ is the believers' advocate in the presence of the Father (cf. 1 John 2, 1).

³ Walter Bauer in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum N. T.*, II, ii (1912), p. 149.

⁴ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁵ Cf. Meyer, *Commentary on the N. T., Gospel of John* (Eng. tr.) II (1881), p. 263; B. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar, Johannes-Evangelium*, 8th ed. (1893), pp. 523 f.

⁶ Euthymius Zigabenus says: *δικαίον γὰρ γνώρισμα τὸ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ συνεῖναι αὐτῷ*.

'moral excellence,' and 'justification' or 'acquittal.'⁷ The word occurs only here in the Fourth Gospel, and in view of the context it seems to be used in the forensic sense of justification or acquittal.⁸ *Κρίσις* takes its color from the context. It properly means 'judgment,' but sometimes, as in the passage before us, it denotes adverse judgment or condemnation.

The *ἐλεγξίς* which the Paraclete is to effect at his coming will be threefold (*περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ κρίσεως*), and in each case the world will be convicted. It will be brought to recognize three things by the power of the Paraclete: First, that it has sinned because it has not believed in Christ; second, that believers are justified or acquitted because Christ has gone to the Father to act as their advocate (*παράκλητος*);⁹ and third, that evil has been condemned because the ruler of this world (the devil) has been condemned. The whole context is forensic. *ἁμαρτία*, *δικαιοσύνη*, and *κρίσις* are contrasted with one another, as the particles *μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δέ* show; but there is no special emphasis on the contrast between *ἁμαρτία* and *δικαιοσύνη*. The sin of the world in not believing in Christ, the justification, or acquittal, of believers through the advocacy of Christ in heaven, and the condemnation of evil in the person of the devil, are the three points of the contrast.

The justification, or acquittal, here mentioned is not justification by faith, as in the Epistles of Paul, though his use of *δικαιοσύνη* to denote the sinner's acquittal was no doubt familiar to the author of the Fourth Gospel. It is rather the Johannine form of the doctrine of justification, according to which the believer is justified, or acquitted of his sins, through the pleading of Christ as his advocate in the presence of the Father in heaven. The Fourth Evangelist, like the Apostle Paul, expresses by means of a forensic figure the Christian's experience of forgiveness.

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⁷ On the meaning of *δικαιοσύνη* see J. H. Ropes, "'Righteousness' and 'The Righteousness of God' in the Old Testament and in St. Paul," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxii (1903), pp. 211 ff.

⁸ *Δικαιοσύνη* occurs three times in the First Epistle of John (2, 29; 3, 7-10), and in each case with the verb *ποιεῖν* (עשה צדק or פועל צדק).

⁹ Cf. 1 John 2, 1. According to Rom. 8, 26f. the Spirit makes intercession in behalf of the saints.

THE MEDICAL LANGUAGE OF HIPPOCRATES

In my "Style and Literary Method of Luke" I have argued that the attempt to confirm by means of so-called technical medical terms the tradition that Luke and Acts were written by a physician has failed to establish the presence in these writings of words that were not used freely also by non-medical writers. Indeed, the attempt was bound to fail for the reason that unlike the present medical profession the ancient physician scarcely had a technical vocabulary at all. As Professor G. F. Moore there pointed out (pp. 53 f.), while modern medical terminology is largely made up of foreign words, the scientific words of the Greeks were native to the living language and congenial for ordinary use. To support this Galen's statement was quoted (p. 64, n. 91), that for the sake of clearness he preferred to employ, not unfamiliar terms, but those which the bulk of people are accustomed to use. I would now add that Galen makes the same claim for the linguistic practice of Hippocrates, his famous predecessor. In Comm. Hipp. de Epidemiis iii, 32 (ed. Kuhn XVII. i. 678) Galen says: *ὁ γὰρ τοι τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου υἱὸς Ἱπποκράτης . . . φαίνεται συνηθεστάτοις τε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σαφέσι τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεχρημένος, ἃ καλεῖν ἔθος ἔστι τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς πολιτικά.*

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